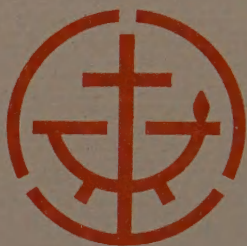


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*Angus Chakella*

A

**LETTER**

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

**THE LORD PROVOST,**

RELATING TO THE

**ANNUITY TAX,**

AND THE

**ECCLESIASTICAL ARRANGEMENTS**

NOW PROPOSED FOR

**THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.**

By **JOHN LEE, D. D.**

MINISTER OF LADY YESTER'S CHURCH, EDINBURGH.

**WILLIAM BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH.**

**MDCCCXXXIV.**

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A  
**LETTER**  
TO THE  
RIGHT HON. THE LORD PROVOST,  
RELATING TO THE  
**ANNUITY TAX.**

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*Edinburgh, Feb. 3, 1834.*

MY LORD,

As MR. AYTOUN has thought it his duty to address to your Lordship and the Council of this city, and through the reporters to the public in general, what he considers as a repetition of the statements which I made (also in your Lordship's hearing,) at a recent meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, I find it necessary, in vindication of my own accuracy, and for the purpose of removing many erroneous impressions of very extensive prevalence, to enter into a more ample exposition of the subject than I felt it incumbent on me to offer on the occasion referred to; and I venture to hope that, without any difficulty, I shall not only disprove all the charges which Mr. Aytoun has brought forward, but bring into view a number of facts bearing on the question, which seem to be almost universally misapprehended.

I admire the innocent simplicity and unconscious ignorance with which Mr. Aytoun alleges that I have commenced this discussion, and have myself to thank should the exposure be greater than I or my friends desire. Is it possible that Mr. Aytoun can be so great a stranger to all that has taken place in Edinburgh, as not to know that for months and even years this discussion has been carried on in almost every possible variety of form, not on the part of the clergy, but on the part of those who

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denounce them as having twenty-five years ago entered into a nefarious combination with the Magistrates, for the purpose of loading the inhabitants with a burden to which they had not been subjected by any previous law, and who maintain that they are still subsisting on this dishonestly acquired gain? It has astonished and grieved me that the Ministers against whom this charge had been chiefly levelled have never publicly repelled it; but I have reason to think that they imagined it to be quite unnecessary to address any defence to the intelligent part of the community. If such was their motive for quiescent and silent submission to the invectives which were heaped upon them, I am afraid they laboured under a mistaken view both of their duty and their interest. Unqualified assertions, loudly and fearlessly and frequently reiterated without ever being contradicted, necessarily gain possession of the minds of a large portion of the public; and not more than one day before the meeting of the Presbytery, I had the mortification of hearing a man of superior education express himself as if he believed that there had been some undue advantage taken in the construction of the act of Parliament of 1809, the fourth of the acts which had extended the royalty. I perceived that his conception was, that till then there had been no legal ground for exacting annuity in the New Town, and that there had never been any legal ground for levying more than 19,000 merks, and that if it had not been for the explanatory clause in the last page of the act, there would not even now have been a shadow of foundation for levying any greater sum. He seemed to have obtained his information from certain resolutions of meetings, addresses to the citizens of Edinburgh, and other printed papers, in which it is asserted that the power of the Magistrates to levy the annuity was derived entirely from an act of the Parliament of Scotland in 1661, which fixed the definite sum of 19,000 merks as being the utmost which could be demanded either for the Magistrates or the Clergy, and that the Magistrates “*had no authority to exact more, or even to extend this assessment beyond the limits of the ancient royalty,* until 1809, when they applied for a new bill to extend the city, to include the New Town in the extended royalty.



This bill, it was understood, was intended for that purpose alone ; however, unknown to the inhabitants, (not being made acquainted with the details,) a clause was introduced, under which the Magistrates now claim the right to levy a tax at the same rate of six per cent. without any limitation whatever, and to throw the burden of providing for all the clergy upon the inhabitants." Knowing, as I did, that this statement proceeded upon a very erroneous view of the facts, and understanding that an opinion of this kind was very generally entertained, while I was also aware that in a printed " Report of the Sub-committee appointed by the Inhabitants' Committee," it was asserted that " when the Magistrates, convinced of the illegality of the oppressive assessment which they had levied, applied to Parliament for a farther extension of the royalty in 1809, they, *in conjunction with the clergy, surreptitiously* introduced a clause into the bill for the purpose of obtaining the sanction of the legislature," I could not restrain myself from giving, in the presence of the Presbytery, what I understood, and still understand, to be a fair, though by no means so complete an account of the whole matter as I might easily have given. I suspect that I omitted to state, (for I had no notes to remind me of the successive topics on which I spoke), that the act 1661 had not, as is alleged, restricted the amount of assessment, but I undertook to show that the annuity had been laid on the extended royalty more than forty years before the act of Parliament 1809, with the previously obtained consent of all the proprietors and feuars of the grounds, the only parties interested at the time ; that the same consent had been stipulated for in all the charters of the houses built, or to be built on the grounds included in the extension of 1809 ; and that with regard to the clause said to have been introduced *surreptitiously*, (that is, as Johnson defines it, and all the world understands it, " by stealth" or " fraudulently"), there could not possibly have been any stealth or concealment, for, as appears from the records, the clause had been discussed at repeated meetings of the Presbytery, numerouslly attended, and, moreover, the clause did not lay on the inhabitants any burden to which they had not been

previously made liable, not only by a prior clause of that act, but by three former acts of Parliament, subsequent to the act 1661, but merely authorized the Magistrates to apply the amount, not only for the payment of the stipends of all the Ministers of the present churches, but also for the payment of the stipends of such Ministers as might be appointed to the churches required to be built under the authority of that act. I am afraid I was very far from making out so good a case as I might have done, if I had proceeded more deliberately and methodically ; but I do not feel that I invaded any man's rights by stating what I well knew I was able to establish by a redundancy of evidence ; nor can I admit that there was any presumption in saying, as I did say in your Lordship's hearing, that while I was cordially willing to accept the most moderate sum of fixed stipend which would satisfy any of my colleagues who did not happen like me to have numerous families to support and educate, I wished it to be understood, that in signifying this ready acquiescence, I was not actuated by any doubt of the legality of the right which the Ministers of Edinburgh had obtained, or of the fairness of the means by which a certain fund for their provision had been established, a fund which, obnoxious as it had become, had not certainly been originally suggested by themselves, though after it had been provided, they considered it to be their duty to insist that it should be applied to the purposes for which alone it had been professedly created. It was not perhaps becoming in me, without any previous communication with so much as one of my brethren, to utter a word in vindication of the impeached honour and integrity of the now departed Ministers of this church, who are accused of having acted so nefarious a part. I was not certainly the fittest person to come forward as the defender of their traduced characters, and the avenger of the injurious aspersions heaped upon their memories. But in the few words which I uttered I certainly did not assail any other person's name, while I maintained that the attempt to blacken their reputation must prove abortive in the eyes of every man of common sense and common candour. Would Mr. Aytoun admit that it would have been on his part an act



of unprovoked aggression, if, after having seen, month after month, pamphlets, handbills, newspapers, and reports of speeches, in which it was asserted that the College of Justice had fraudulently and surreptitiously, by a direct act of circumvention, contrived to establish privileges giving them an undue advantage which virtually added to the burdens of their fellow-citizens, thus evading and defeating the intention of the well-known annuity act 1661, which (though it does not contain all that Mr. Aytoun supposes), contains an express declaration that *no person shall be exempted*, of whatsoever degree, or quality, or place, *upon pretence of any privilege* whatsoever, he had felt it incumbent upon him, (feeling as he must do for the honour of the body in which he is enrolled), to repel the charge, by showing that the College of Justice, in asserting their rights, had always acted in the face of day, and in conformity with the consent of those who were interested at the time when these rights were established, though they may not be able to show that before any acts of Parliament subsequent to 1661 were passed, notice had been given to all who were interested in opposing their claims, that such claims were intended to be ratified? But I shall ask him no questions.

He has now adopted, with aggravated virulence, the charges put forth against the Ministers of Edinburgh, by nameless authorities; and he has attempted to substantiate them by garbled extracts from papers which few have an opportunity of ever examining. He has confidently stigmatized, as dishonest and surreptitious, those proceedings which had been openly carried on by the Ministers of Edinburgh, and by the Presbytery at successive meetings, accessible to the public, and particularly the framing of a clause which was revised and approved by the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, and which, when afterwards brought fully into the view of the Court of Session, by the Ministers themselves, was so far from being visited with any animadversion from the Bench, that the rights of the Ministers, founded on it and other statutes, were sustained in all their extent. And while he has done this, he must be fully aware, that if the asseverations which he is wilfully and widely disseminating shall gain credit from the public, they

must not only bring into contempt, but utterly destroy the usefulness of, a body of men who are intrusted with the spiritual interests of a large portion of the people of Scotland. It is for him to consider how far he is protected by his place as a Councillor from the legal consequences of this deliberate attempt to vilify, by a published philippic, the Ministers of religion and the Judges of the land.

But I believe I must begin at the beginning, and proceed straight forward with a detail of such facts as throw light on the question.

Mr. Aytoun reminds your Lordship that John Knox was at first the only Edinburgh minister, with a salary of 400 merks per annum, or about L.20. No doubt he means to insinuate that John Knox was contented with a moderate salary, and was willing and able to do all the duty which was required. Every one who knows any thing of the value of money in those days, knows that 400 merks was more than an ordinary provision. Every Principal of a College, according to the liberal proposals contained in the First Book of Discipline, was intended to have 300 merks,—but the salary of George Buchanan, as Principal of St. Leonard's College, in 1567, was only 15 merks, over and above his lodging and maintenance. In the same year, 1567, as appears from the Register of Ministers and Stipends, (printed at the expense of Mr. Macdonald, for the Maitland Club, in 1830,) the first minister of the West Kirk had 200 merks of stipend, the minister of Dundee 200 merks, the minister of Glasgow 300 merks, the minister of Cupar-Fife 120 merks, the minister of Dumfries 60 merks. Ten years afterwards, the second minister of the West Kirk, Mr. Pont, who was also a Lord of Session, had about 102 merks, while the first minister, William Harlaw, had 200 merks as before. So that if John Knox had 400 merks, he had a great deal more than both the ministers of the West Kirk, and more than any other mere parochial minister in Scotland. But, in point of fact, he had double the stipend Mr. Aytoun allows him. It appears from the unquestionable record, already quoted, (pages xvii. and 2.) that he had 500 merks in money, with 2 chalders of wheat, 6 chalders of bear, and

4 chalders of oats, and a quantity of grain equal in value to 352 merks more—that is, in all 852 merks, or L 568, 6s. 8d. The same amount of stipend was paid to his widow and three daughters after his death, as appears from the Book of the Universal Kirk, 1573.\* So that if John Knox had work equal to that of four ordinary ministers, he had more than the fee of four ordinary ministers. But Knox did not labour altogether alone. In 1561, John Cairns, lector of morning prayers, had 100 merks a-year granted him,—and in 1562, the Council solicited Mr. John Craig, minister of the Canongate, to accept half the charge of preaching in the Kirk of Edinburgh. The arrangement was not carried into effect till the year 1563; and Craig, as well as Cairns, was sustained at the public expense,—the trades agreeing to pay a fifth of it, according to old custom.† So that Mr. Aytoun is not correct in saying either that Knox was the only minister, or that his salary was only 400 merks. Mr. Aytoun is guilty of a still more incomprehensible inaccuracy, in speaking of the *act* 1649, and other acts passed *during the reign of Cromwell*, being rescinded at the restoration of Charles II. Cromwell had no power in Scotland till 1650, and not one of the rescinded acts had been passed under Cromwell's authority. But there would be no end of noticing such blunders. So much for his first position.

I now pass on to the consideration of the annuity, for I must not waste time on matters of minor importance.

It may be proper, however, first to state, that the original provision of the Edinburgh Ministers depended chiefly on the rents and feu-duties of certain lands and other properties which had belonged to certain religious houses before the Reformation. These had been granted in a charter of Queen Mary, confirmed afterwards by King James, as a provision for the Ministers of the word, and the maintenance of charitable foundations, chiefly hospitals and schools. At the suggestion of Mr. James Lawson, the successor of Knox, a share of these funds was

\* See also M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. vii. pp. 268—307. It appears from the Appendix to Keith, that wheat was then 20s. Scots, or twenty pence sterling the boll; and oats half that price. Poultry 4s. (that is, 4d.) the dozen, geese 1s. Scots, or one penny sterling each.

† M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii. p. 308.

dedicated to the foundation of the College, and other contributions to that important national undertaking were afterwards granted by the liberality of the Ministers—so that notwithstanding all that has been spitefully insinuated by Maitland with regard to the grasping disposition of Mr. Robert Bruce and his colleagues, it might be very easily proved, that the cause of public education was more actively and zealously promoted by the Ministers of Edinburgh in very early times than by the munificence of the highest nobles of the land.

The annuity, as is well known, originated in a hint given by Charles the First, in the year 1625. He proposed that the town should be divided into four parishes, with two Ministers to each, and that every Minister should have 2000 merks Scots, and a house to reside in. The payment of the stipend, he said, ought, in all reason, to come from the people who lived under their cure. “This may be done, (he added) either by imposing a certain annuity upon every house and tenement within the parochins, as is done here at London, and in well ordered cities, or by some other convenient means that may be devised; and till this take effect, the town must bear the charge of the whole.” The Town Council, on the 28th of September 1625, resolved to divide the town into four parishes, with eight Ministers, to each of whom they engaged to give (as had been done for some time past) a stipend of 1200 merks, till the intended distribution could be completed, after which, they were to agree on such an augmentation as might be fitting for a sufficient maintenance to each of them.

As the model brought into the view of the Magistrates was the practice of the city of London, it may be proper here to state what that practice had long been. Prior to the thirteenth century, a custom had prevailed of requiring every householder who paid the rent of twenty shillings, to offer every Sunday, and every apostle’s day, the vigil of which was fasted, one half-penny,—and as the eves of such apostles’ days were eight in number, the amount contributed for these and fifty-two Sundays was half-a-crown. Thus was established a rate of two shillings and sixpence in the pound, in the thirteenth year of Henry III.,—but in the reign of Henry VI. twenty-two ad-

ditional saints' days were added, so as to raise the annual offerings to three shillings and fivepence in the pound. This order was remonstrated against by the citizens of London, as having been surreptitiously and abruptly obtained, without their consent,—and it was certainly paid with great reluctance, as may easily be conceived, when it is considered that it amounted to more than one-sixth of the whole rent, or about seventeen per cent.

In the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII. an act was passed,—and another, ten years afterwards, fixing the tithe at two shillings and ninepence in the pound, to be levied in quarterly payments, for all houses, shops, warehouses, cellars, stables, and (in certain circumstances) gardens,—and ordaining that every person refusing to pay should be committed to prison, till he should have agreed with the curate for his tithes, oblations, and other duties. This is still the general rule of payment in all the original parishes of the city, though in various instances prescriptions have been gained for a lower rate than the actual rent would now yield. The operation of the law appears, occasionally, to lead to great hardship, in the case of persons who incautiously enter on the possession of houses, without ascertaining that all claims of this kind have been satisfied,—for it was decided by Lord Harcourt, that “the arrears which ought to have been paid by the former occupiers, or which became due when the houses stood empty, may be levied by distress and sale of the goods of the present occupiers.” \*

It was never proposed that the citizens of Edinburgh should be taxed at a rate so high as two shillings and ninepence in the pound, or thirteen one-fourth per cent., or that payment should be demanded for unoccupied houses. The rate at first proposed was five per cent., and when this was found inadequate, it was advanced to six,—but though this often failed to produce the calculated amount, no greater per centage appears ever to have been in contemplation.

Charles the First had much correspondence with various

\* Burns's Ecclesiastical Law.—Art. Tithes.

bodies in the city of Edinburgh on these matters. On the 31st of March 1626, he addressed a letter to the College of Justice, in which he expressed his surprise, that after he had given orders for every parishioner of the town to keep his parish kirk, the members of that body alone should have proved averse or refractory. He therefore required them to show an example of resorting with their families to the church of the parish in which they had their residence, and of undergoing the discipline and government of the same, contributing as others did to the maintenance of those who had the care of it. But if at any time afterwards, they, of the College, should build a church for themselves, and bestow a competent means on the minister, his majesty would think this a very good reason why they should be exempted from that which others were required to do.

On the 6th of October 1626, in a letter to the Magistrates expressing his satisfaction at the promise made in their name for providing L.100 sterling, with a sufficient dwelling-house, for the use of every minister, and desiring them to begin the first term's payment at Martinmas next, and to provide every one of them with a sufficient dwelling-house, if not already done. On the same day he wrote to the Privy Council, requiring them to call the provost, bailies, &c. before them, and to encourage them by their inducements to pay the said L.100 sterling yearly duly to every one of the eight ministers, at Whitsunday and Martinmas, beginning at Martinmas next.

On the 4th of December 1626 he wrote to the advocates, signifying his pleasure, that as it is fit that, according to the custom of all civil people, the inhabitants should only frequent the parish church for hearing the word, receiving the sacraments, and contributing to the maintenance of the ministers, they, as preceding others in learning and knowledge, would do the like by their example, and concur with the town in contributing to the maintenance of the ministry and for advancing the discipline of the church. A letter to the Privy Council, of the same date, requires them to cause the order agreed to by the Magistrates to be duly observed, and then



adds,—“ And in regard that this course will draw to a great deal of more charges than they were at before, which in all reason ought to be raised from the families within the town who enjoy the benefit of the ministers there, our pleasure is, that the whole inhabitants within the said parochins, as well burgesses as any other person of what quality or estate soever, who are resident there with their (families), shall, notwithstanding of any former privilege pretended to the contrary, rateably contribute towards the ministry of the said ministers without excepting of any; and for the better doing hereof we will, that at the yearly election of the magistrates of the said burgh, there be some honest men likewise made choice of, (being sworn to that purpose,) to tax and stent all the inhabitants foresaid what they should pay proportionably towards the maintenance of the said ministers, and that they return a roll thereof to the magistrates of the said burgh, that they may appoint collectors to bring it into their treasurer.” Another letter to the Privy Council, dated Whitehall, 16th October 1627, is in the following terms.—“ Whereas out of that special care which we have always had for providing the church of that our kingdom, we desired that the inhabitants of our burgh of Edinburgh should contribute to the maintenance of their ministers, among whom it was then affirmed to be equitable that the inferior members of our College of Justice, whose ordinary residence was within that burgh, and who acquired their living by the employment they had within the same, should not be exempted, but being now informed that both by acts of Parliament and by a received custom thir many ages all the members of the said College plead immunity from any contributions, and we being unwilling, without due trial and advice to be had therein, that any course may be taken which may not agree with our said laws, or with the said received custom, our pleasure is, that you call the persons chiefly interested herein before you, and if you find the exempting of the said persons from any such contribution to be so warranted by our said laws as is affirmed, that then any proceedings against them herein shall surcease, and that you acquaint us therewith, but if you shall find it otherwise, we

think it fit that our pleasure heretofore signified for their said contributing take the intended effect."

What was the result of this inquiry, I cannot at this moment precisely state. But in 1633 an act of the Parliament of Scotland was passed, giving commission to the Privy Council, referring to them an article anent the payment of the stipends of the ministers of Edinburgh, by raising an annuity of 12,000 merks, and ordaining "the decreets, statutes, ordinances and determinations to be made, given, and pronounced by the said Lords of Secret Council anent the fore-said article, to have the strength, force, and effect of ane sentence and act of Parliament." On the 18th of March 1634, the Lords ordained the act anent the ministers' stipends to be passed, laying the burden thereof upon the inhabitants, who the Lords declared to be all such persons who take houses for a year or half-year, and accordingly remain and reside therein with their families the most part of the year or half-year. The act farther ordered, in terms of the previous resolution of the Town Council, that new extentors (stent-masters), should be appointed every year or two years, and in case of refusal of any persons, ordained the provost and bailies to direct their officers to poind their goods, or ward their persons for the same, without any farther sentence or process of law, with this special provision and exception, that the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council and Lords of Session shall noways be subject to contribute to this imposition, but shall be specially excepted."

This act of the Privy Council having the force of an act of Parliament, along with other acts, obtained successive ratifications under the great seal in the years 1636 and 1637. By the authority of the Town Council the collector of the kirk-rents was appointed to collect the house mails for payment of the ministers' stipends, and to pay them to the kirk-treasurer, who was directed to pay the whole ministers' stipends. It would be tedious and unprofitable to describe all the subsequent proceedings; but it may tend in some measure to illustrate the most obscure part of the history of the annuity, to furnish a few particulars supplied by the Record of the General Sessions, no part of which has ever been published.



On the 10th of June 1646, at which time the influence of the Covenanters was predominant, the Magistrates, Council and Ministers, with the six sessions and many other *neighbours*, (that is citizens) being convened for the purpose of considering the necessity that this burgh has of three ministers more than they had already, it was represented by the Magistrates that the *kirk-rents*, *teinds*, *ground-annuals*, and other mortifications, granted for the maintenance of the ministers of the burgh, were not sufficient for paying the ministers' and precentors' stipends already provided,—and to clear up this matter, the magistrates offered or produced the whole gifts, rights and mortifications with a rental of the rents foresaid to the view and consideration of the ministers, kirk-sessions, and neighbours, that they might compare them with the stipends payable to the ministers already provided. It was then agreed that there should be a petition to the General Assembly then sitting for the transportation of three ministers, on this condition, that the magistrates, council, kirk-session and neighbours, oblige themselves, before any minister should be translated, to choose commissioners to calculate the rents pertaining to the burgh *for the use of the ministry*, and to take a solid course for supplying what should be deficient for maintaining twelve ministers with their precentors, whereby the common good of the burgh might not be burdened with their maintenance and stipend in time coming, but that every member of council, sessions, neighbours, and inhabitants where their dwellings are, should contribute their proportionable part of what might be wanting or deficient of the said kirk-rents, according as the commissioners might think expedient.

This was evidently a general meeting, and it appears from other documents that similar meetings were subsequently assembled. On the 20th of October 1648, the Town Council, *with the advice and concurrency of their neighbours*, (fellow-citizens) having resolved to have twelve ministers, and that the stipends of six of these should be imposed on the whole houses, to be paid by the inhabitants and possessors, without exemption of any person, on whatsoever privilege or pretence, applied for a ratification from the Committee of Estates.

This ratification was granted on the 28th December. The amount was to be 19,000 merks for six ministers yearly, every one of whom was to have 2700 merks for stipend and 400 merks for house-rent. The rate of assessment was no otherwise fixed than that on every hundred merks such proportion might be imposed as would make up the sum of 19,000 merks yearly. By an Act of Parliament of the 2d of March, and another of the 10th June, 1649, it was ordained that as the annuity of five on the hundred would not make up the sum, an annuity of six merks should be imposed on every hundred merks of the rents of all the houses, chambers, booths, cellars, with the pertinents, for the maintenance of six ministers, by the deacons of the kirks for the time being. In the Session Papers in the process of the Ministers against the Magistrates, it is said that it cannot be ascertained whether the annuity was actually collected by the deacons of the kirks. But the Books of the General Sessions contain sufficient evidence on this point.

It is stated in a minute of the six sessions, 18th April 1649, that after seventeen years' endeavour to maintain six ministers out of the rents of the house mails, the magistrates had obtained, with consent of the College of Justice, an act of Parliament (the act of the 2d of March) for casting 19,000 merks upon the town at five of the 100 merks of rent,—but the total sum of the valuation taken by four neighbours, was no more than 10,000 lib. Scots, (that is 15,000 merks) so that a matter of 4000 merks will be wanting. An elder and deacon of each parish, therefore, were appointed to take up the rents within their bounds, and to report their diligence the next Wednesday, “and to certify the possessors that if they shall give up the rents of their houses otherwise upon oath, than they do to the elder and deacon, they shall be esteemed double dealers and not ingenuous. On the 29th of May, six rolls of the rents of houses, with the annuities at 5 of the 100, were given in by the Provost and Bailies to the North Session (the High Church,) which were accepted by the Session, who promised obedience according to the acts of Parliament. Subsequently to this period (as has already been stated,) the act of the

18th of June authorized the imposition of six per cent. On the 3d of September 1649, the Six Sessions appointed *the Moderator of every respective Session* to call for account each session day from the deacons of their diligence in the collection of the annuities for the Ministers' stipend, and to that effect the Magistrates promised to attend the several sessions of their respective bounds. Many similar minutes occur. The only recompense obtained by the deacons for their labours appears to have been the possession of free seats in the churches.

On the 22d of December 1651, several elders were appointed to meet with the deacons for the year 1649, and the deacons on the accounts, to see what rested in their hands of the *voluntary contribution* and *annuities*. At this time, and for several preceding years, the collection appears to have been a matter of great difficulty. It was a period of very great scarcity. Indeed, the price of corn in 1648, 49, 50, and 51, was higher than at any future period till 1740, and even in that year of famine it was not so high as in 1649 and 1650. The *voluntary contribution* was an extraordinary effort for relieving the poor. Not to swell this paper unnecessarily, it may be remarked, that in 1654 (Feb. 8,) a committee appointed to try what diligence the deacons had done in getting in the annuity, obtained from them a promise that they would do their utmost, providing that the preceding deacons would assist or countenance them in going with them to such as refused,—and after their diligence, that they might have an officer appointed by the Magistrates to attend them, whom they did not wish to appear till they had gotten a flat refusal, on which they would require him *to do his office to pound*. In September 1654, a committee of the Session desired that the Magistrates would give their concurrence with the several deacons for collecting and ingathering the annuitie which *very many* refused to answer, *except they be compelled by authority of the Magistrate*.

It is truly mortifying to reflect that such men as Messrs. Robert Douglas, Robert Trail, George Hutcheson, and David Dickson, men who had done so much for the spiritual instruction and for the civil interests of their contemporaries and posterity, should have felt themselves compelled to consent to such

measures of severity, and after all should have obtained a very inadequate maintenance, as had been the case of the still more eminent Alexander Henderson and George Gillespie, who died a few years before. But the opposition to them and their colleagues was inconsiderable when compared with the violent clamour which was excited in London and other parts of England against tithes, which were alleged by the Quakers and others (how justly it is not easy to ascertain,) to have been exacted far more rigorously by the Independent Ministers patronised by Cromwell, than they had ever been in the proudest days of the then humble hierarchy.\*

The Ministers of Edinburgh, if they did not obtain ampler stipends, secured much greater tranquillity when they resolved to surrender, at least for a time, into the hands of the Magistrates the whole right which they possessed, on condition of receiving regularly a fixed sum, for which they stipulated. This transaction is noticed in the Book of the Sessions in these terms, on the 29th of March 1655. “ This said day the whole ministers, with consent of the elders and deacons of the whole Six Sessions, execute to the Council of Edinburgh, and their successors, an assignation, wherein is contained a full power to uplift the annuity in all time coming, appointed formerly for payment of the Ministers’ stipend, the present Council and their successors always paying to ilk of the Ministers contained

\* It is said in one paper, published in the year 1655, that a new oppressive devise had been put in practice, under pretence that ministers could not pay tenths to the *Protector*, unless every man paid them their tithes, so that they sued for tithes by *English bill* in the exchequer, and divers who would not swear what tithes they had (being Quakers) had long lain in the Fleet, and above a hundred suits were depending in the exchequer; the hearts of the very officers of the court relenting with pity towards such numbers of poor men brought thither every term, from the most remote parts of the nation, and some of them not for above twelve pence; such merciless cruelty lodges in the hearts of many, if not the most of our pretended gospel ministers—may we not wish for old priests, and old ecclesiastical courts?—for much more moderation was in them, and even papists would blush at our cruelties. Drs. Burgess and Seaman were accused of being particularly rigid in their exactions.—See *Pearson’s Great Case of Tithes* published in 1657, and numberless other tracts.

in the assignation 2500 merks yearly, while they exerce their functions of the ministry in the said place." The assignation, or a large abstract of it, has been printed in various papers. Matters continued on this footing till the restoration of Charles II.

I now proceed to notice what has been regarded as the governing statute passed in 1661. This act is made the foundation of Mr. Aytoun's charge against the Ministers of Edinburgh, because, (as he asserts), they combined with the Magistrates in 1809 to convert a tax which had been limited to 19,000 merks into one of nearly eight times the amount. Now, my Lord, mark the precision of Mr. Aytoun's statement. "In 1661, (he says,) another act was passed which is *entitled a Ratification of the Act of 1649*, and which re-enacts the annuity of six per cent., *in order to make up the sum of 19,000 merks.*" Again, I request your Lordship to mark these words, "ENTITLED a *Ratification of the Act of 1649*,—re-enacts the annuity of six per cent. *in order to make up the sum of 19,000 merks.*" If Mr. Aytoun's speech had been reported as mine was, I would excuse inaccuracies and slips and omissions; and if he had heard what I had said, or seen it fully reported, he would not have fought with a shadow as he has done. But I ask him, if the report of his speech is not so full as to afford a presumption that in this instance he has been a self-reporting speaker? Where did he read the *title* of the act of Parliament to which he refers? If there be such a *title* it is not in the statute-book; and the most careful and clear-sighted reader will never find in any act of Charles the Second any such words as *in order to make up the sum of 19,000 merks*, which the reporter has been at pains to put in italics. The *title* too is an incredible absurdity,—*Ratification of the Act 1649*—that is, *ratification of a rescinded act*, an act, indeed, described by Mr. Aytoun himself, in the immediately preceding sentence, as having been rescinded, at the Restoration, along with all the other Scotch acts passed during the *reign of Cromwell!* \* No matter,—the title is a matter of

\* Cromwell had no power in Scotland till 1650, and the rescinded acts had been passed before that time.

moonshine. But the clause itself is written in a sunbeam, and ought for ever to haunt the visions of the Edinburgh clergy. Well it may, for it is an unreal mockery—a baseless fabric—a splendid invention—an airy nothing—a work of a creative imagination,—which, though among the recorded memorials of the eventful times to which it is ascribed it never had any place or existence, has obtained possession, (thus gaining nine points of the law), in the brain of Mr. Aytoun, and has also found a local habitation in publications scattered abroad, like the faded leaves of autumn, by the Inhabitants' Committee; and, moreover, in that memorable state-paper, which had the good fortune to come forth under the intelligent auspices of Sir Patrick Walker, an involuntary sufferer under the annuity-tax, though the lands for which he pays some seventy pounds a year, (fifty-six bolls of barley), and for which he probably receives twenty times as much in the form of feuduty, were acquired by his predecessor seventy years ago, under the express condition that all houses to be built thereon were to be subject to annuity, poors-money, and all other taxes payable by the inhabitants of the ancient royalty. The petition of the inhabitants of Edinburgh shewed the Lords and Commons, that the act of the Scottish Parliament, 6 June 1661, in virtue of which annuity is levied, does not warrant any assessment beyond 19,000 merks, or L.1027,—but the Lords and Commons, if they look into the act, will find that this is the petitioners' own shewing, and not the words or meaning of the act. The only thing in the act which says any thing about *ratification*, is at its conclusion, where we find the words: “And his Majesty, with consent foresaid, ratifies, and approves the possession and use of payment of the said annuity and imposition since the same has been in use to be paid.” This was not a ratification of the act 1649, but of the use which had obtained previously under acts of Privy Council and of Parliament, and royal charters, none of which had been revoked; and, among other things, it ratified a condition, that no exemption from that tax should be allowed, while at the same time it declared “that the payment of the said annuities and imposition for the said Ministers' stipends, being a cause so pious and necessary, shall not prejudice nor be derogatory to



the liberties and privileges of the College of Justice." If this meant that they were to pay this tax and no others, (as seems to be the only intelligible construction of it), perhaps Mr. Aytoun will think it enough to say that this part of the act has fallen into desuetude, and that their non-payment of it is now justifiable by inveterate usage; but if this were all that could be said, one might as well say that the long usage of paying six per cent., without any limitation of amount, had been established by usage, even though there had been a sum limited at first. But it is unnecessary to pursue this view of the subject.

I must not, however, forget, that Mr. Aytoun refers to certain law-papers, in which he says, "the ministers claimed the merit of having written the clause in the act 1809, [of which he erroneously says that I took no notice,] and owned that they had written it with the avowed intention of destroying the plea of the *inhabitants*, that the annuity-tax was limited to 19,000 merks." Even this garbled quotation proves no such thing. The ministers say nothing of *destroying the plea of the inhabitants*; the *magistrates*, not the *inhabitants*, were the defenders, and Mr. Aytoun well knows what was the plea of the magistrates. They had represented the act of Parliament as a thing of no consequence, when the ministers said that it had provided a large fund for their provision. They alleged that the act entitled them to collect no more than 19,000 merks; but though there had been immemorial usage in favour of collecting much more, there had been no usage in favour of applying any more than their predecessors thought fit to grant to the ministers from time to time, and there had been uninterrupted usage in favour of the habit of mixing up this fund with the common funds of the city. The Memorial which Mr. Aytoun alleges contains an audacious avowal by the Ministers, was written by Mr. Cockburn, the present Solicitor-General, and it would have been well if Mr. Aytoun had read it all, or even if he had quoted the words correctly.—I am not going to fill up a page with quotations,—but I ask why Mr. Aytoun omitted the parenthesis, which I also distinguish by italics. "There were just two objects which they at the time had in

view ; first, to destroy the plea which had been long (*and your Lordships seemed all to think, erroneously*) maintained by the defenders, that they had no right to levy, in name of annuity, more than 19,000 merks." The ministers had not admitted this plea. In their very first paper they state, that "having some years before demanded a count and reckoning respecting the proceeds of annuity and other funds, the magistrates evaded this claim by pleading, first, that its amount was restricted by the terms of the grant to 19,000 merks; that though they levied a great deal more, and had been in the habit of applying it for the payment of the ministers, they were not bound to account for the surplus, which they levied without authority, and that they could not depend on the inhabitants permanently paying more than the 19,000 merks. This led to an examination of the grants on the authority of which the annuity was drawn, and it was soon ascertained that the act 1661 was the only legislative title on which it rested, and that this act authorized a general assessment of six per cent. on rents, without any restriction as to the total sum raised. The magistrates next founded on the restriction in the act 1661 as to the number of ministers, and by this time another extension of the royalty having come to be spoken of, the ministers gave notice to the Town Council that they would certainly oppose that bill in Parliament if it should contain only such a general clause relative to the annuity as had been introduced into the former bill, or should not, on the contrary, contain a ratification of the right of *levying and applying the annuity* for the payment of the stipends of all the ministers. A clause to this effect was accordingly prepared by one of the ministers of Edinburgh, which having been approved of by the rest, was communicated to a committee of the Town Council, who submitted it to the review of the present Dean of Faculty, and this very clause, after undergoing one or two very trivial alterations, was ultimately approved of by Mr. Ross, adopted by the Town-Council, and introduced into the bill, which was soon afterwards passed into an act of Parliament."

Every man of ordinary judgment perceives at once that the whole effect of the clause which was introduced was not to



authorize any new or increased exaction, but to make it imperative on the magistrates, not merely to levy, but to apply the annuity for the payment, not only of the six ministers, who were at an early period provided for out of this fund, while others were equally well provided for out of another fund, nor merely of the seventeen ministers in office in 1809 and their successors, but of the other ministers who were to be brought to any additional church or churches to be built under the authority of that act.

Let any man consider to whom the avowal of the transaction which is now branded with deep ignominy was so frankly and fearlessly made. Was it not to the judges of the land, who were called upon to interpret the law affecting the rights of the parties, and to dispense even-handed justice? Would they have dared to avow an insidious stratagem intended to defeat the rights of others, to secure a paltry and short-lived gain to themselves? Will it be for a moment believed that Dr. Hunter, Dr. Davidson, Dr. Simpson, Dr. Moodie, Mr. Dickson, Dr. Inglis, Dr. Thomson, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Ritchie, and Dr. Fleming, (I speak only of the names of the departed, who rest from their labours and whose works do follow them)—who, I say, will have the hardihood to give utterance to the surmise, that those men, some of whom were at that period on the brink of the grave, and the very youngest of whom had for half a century maintained an unspotted name, could have been so enamoured of the wages of iniquity, so blindly devoted to the idolatry of mammon, so fearless of God, so regardless of man, so intent on the attainment of infamous celebrity, as not only to record their own shame, and write it in a book, that their names might be perpetuated in the scorn and execration of unborn generations, but even with one accord to rush before the tribunals of their country, holding up their unclean hands in mockery of the majesty of human law, and in defiance of the terrors of future retribution, and deliriously make their boast of having, for one perishing morsel of meat, sold the birthright of an undefiled and incorruptible inheritance?

If the language which they employed was capable of bearing such a construction, were the Judges so void of discern-

ment as not find it out, or was it reserved for the ingenuity of Mr. Aytoun to see through the flimsy mask, and to expose, in the dazzling brightness of noon-day, the deformity of clerical guilt, the obtuse apathy of the bench, and the blundering simplicity of the bar, where a plea was suffered to be urged, which gained a miserable cause for the infatuated clients, at the expense of deep and indelible disgrace? But let us hear the opinions of the Judges delivered on repeated occasions.

On the act 1661, Lord Hermand said, at revising Informations, that *the Ratification* applies merely to the mode of collecting from the inhabitants. He afterwards said, “the amount to be levied by the act 1634, was limited to 12,000 merks, and by the act 1648, it was limited to 19,000 merks; but it is most particularly to be attended to, that there is *no limitation of any kind* to be found in the act 1661. But the Magistrates say there is a dereliction by usage, because the Magistrates have been allowed to collect. I do think there is nothing in this unfavourable to the fund.”—Lord Succoth said, “what is most material here is, that by this act 1661, the sum is not limited as in former acts, which allowed 19,000 merks only to be collected.” At the next advising, he repeated this observation, “Here is no limitation as to the precise sum to be paid to the Clergy, and to be raised by the tax, as was the case in the former acts. There is no limitation whatever, and consequently we are not tied down at present by the difficulty which would have arisen under the act 1648, if the Ministers had been claiming under it, as it might then have been maintained that they could not draw more than the sum there specified. Here there is no such condition. A tax is put in general upon the householders, in order to raise a sum of money sufficient for yearly stipend of those Ministers without limitation.” Lord Gillies, at the first advising, was clear that the whole funds held by the Magistrates, for behoof of the Ministers, must be accounted for by them. In particular, as to the fund called the annuity, there was no doubt that the Ministers had completely made out their right to it; but he was of opinion they were not well-founded in going back in their accounting. At the next advising, (June 11, 1813,) he said, “The act 1661

is certainly the most important of all, and it is material or proper, at least, to recollect that the prior act modifying the amount of the stipends was at this time totally repealed. Now, the present act makes a very material difference, a great change on the matter in question. This act, like the former one, in 1648, mentions six ministers, and to them it declares that the fund is to be allocated ; but instead of specifying any particular sum to be raised, it specifies the particular kind of duties to be imposed. The important change here made is, that no sum is specified as the amount ; and the quota of the inhabitants is declared to be six per cent. on their rents. At this time, it seems evident that it was not supposed the fund would be more than sufficient, if it was sufficient for the stipends, and the fact is, that it was not. Had it been imagined that the fund to be raised by this assessment of six per cent. would have been more than sufficient to pay the six Ministers to whom it was allotted, I should then conceive that the surplus would have been given or ordered to be applied for the support of the other Clergy. On the supposition that a surplus was to arise, it would have been given, not as I should suppose, to the six Ministers, or to the Town Council, or to any one else, but to the remaining Ministers, on the principles which had been just established, that a fund of this kind was a more proper manner than any other of supporting the Clergy. In this question, as it appears to me, the difficulty has just arisen from the Legislature being unaware, or not foreseeing the great change that was to take place, the immense improvements which were to be made on the country at large, and on this great city in particular, that they did not conceive the event which has since happened, that the fund would amount to a sum greatly more than sufficient for its original purpose. How they would have provided for this event, if it had been foreseen, it is beyond the reach of human sagacity to say,—we must take the act as it is, it imposes a tax, and says that the produce of that tax is to be employed to pay the stipend of the clergy, and this is all that we can say upon the subject. I observe the great argument, and indeed the strength of this case is rested upon the word

*stipend* as running through the whole of the enactment ; but does the word *stipend* mean a fixed yearly income ? I cannot understand the act as being so controlled by the use of the word *stipend*, as not to say that the whole of this sum does not belong to the clergy, but to say that the surplus is bestowed on a different party altogether, for the support of the Magistrates ; for I do not see their benefit to have been contemplated by the act of Parliament at all. When the tax had greatly increased, the Magistrates changed their practice so far as to apply it for the maintenance not only of the six ministers, but of the whole clergy. This is an application which certainly is not authorized by the letter of the Act, but the Magistrates did exercise this power, and their practice was that of applying the full fund, being more than sufficient for the six ministers, indiscriminately for the support of all. Now this practice in itself I should have held as of no great importance, if matters had rested there, but it is a practice of the greatest importance when you come to consider the only other interposition by the legislature on the subject. I mean the statute of 1809 ; for by this act the practice of the Magistrates, whether right or wrong, is sanctioned and authorized. By this Act (you will find the clause at p. 35, and it is a clause drawn in a very peculiar manner, but it was also drawn, I believe, with intention, though I here speak from the information that is given me ; and my opinion is framed without reference to the history of the Act, which I am not entitled to attend to)—by this Act, when I look at the words of that clause, I see a clear intention on the part of the legislature just to leave matters on the footing on which they then stood. *It makes no change on the matter of this fund*, from what it was at the period of the Act 1661. Now, what is done by this clause ? It empowers the magistrates in the first place to collect the Annuity from all the town, new as well as old, extended as well as ancient royalty. In the next place, it empowers and authorizes them to apply this fund for the support of all the clergy, and finally it allows them to apply the sum as they had hitherto done. Now here is a complete sanction of the use of the magistrates. They are authorized to levy this tax, and to apply it in the manner

they had hitherto been in use to apply it. Now if the magistrates had stated to your Lordship that prior to the date of this Act they had levied this tax, defending that the sum was much more than adequate for the purposes for which it was originally intended, and that they had applied the surplus as part of the common good, I should have then held them to have adopted a practice which was wrong; for I do think that it was not the meaning of any of the former acts to give any right to them of this nature. But if in the interval between the preceding and this last Act, that is, during a period of nearly one hundred and fifty years, if during this period they had adopted a practice, whether right or wrong, (wrong I think, but that is of no consequence) of applying the sums so raised, not to the support of all the clergy indiscriminately, but for the common good of the burgh, then I should think that a very strong argument would have arisen in favour of the burgh, that the use, though wrong, would yet have been sanctioned by the late Act of Parliament. But what was all along—what is the use at present? Why, as stated by the Magistrates themselves, not only as admitted by them, but as avowed and boasted of uniformly, they have applied the whole of this sum to the maintenance of the whole of the clergy. Now, if this sum was intended for the maintenance of the clergy—if there is no gift of it, so long as I can see, in favour of any other party, and if it has been uniformly applied in support of the clergy, how can I hold, from the last Act or any other, that it can be available to any other party? There is here a gift in favour of the ministers, but none in favour of the magistrates,—there is no practice in their favour. They had collected merely for behoof of the ministers, and they have applied it accordingly, and even this last act ties them down to the former use, that is, to apply the whole fund for the maintenance of the clergy.” Lord Armadale said, that the tax called the annuity-tax had been laid on by the legislature for the purpose of upholding the ministry of this city, and was destined to the magistrates for their behoof. In all deeds, acts, and transactions down to the present day, this seems to be acknowledged.

The Lord President was of opinion, that the Ministers’



right to the merk per pack and ton was very clear,—but he was quite convinced that all the rest they had just a security over, but no exclusive right to. Lord Balmuto was of the same opinion,—but the Court, by a majority of one, found, 11th June 1813, that the Ministers have the sole interest in, and exclusive right to, the entire produce and benefit of the annuity of six per cent. on the rent of inhabited houses, and others, and that the Magistrates are liable to hold count and reckoning with the Ministers, and their successors, for the produce of said annuity since the date of citation on 28th September 1810. This interlocutor was adhered to by the court on the 18th of January 1814, and thereby became final.

Not one word, so far as I can discover, was spoken by any of the Judges in reprobation of the conduct of the Ministers, who had spontaneously declared that the clause now so loudly condemned was originally proposed and prepared by them; and, assuredly, the charge of fraudulent dealing was never once imputed to them by those who were familiarly cognizant of all the circumstances of the case.

Before closing this part of the subject, it may be proper to take notice that the plan for extending the royalty of the city of Edinburgh originated in the year 1752, and led to the purchase or rather feuing of a considerable part of the lands of Heriot's Hospital for the advantage of the city,—a measure which was strongly remonstrated against by Dr. Erskine and half of the Ministers, who published their reasons of protest. Soon afterwards many other portions of ground were feued by the Hospital to various individuals, only one of whom appears to have been connected with the Magistracy, namely, Bailie James Stuart, (father of the late Dr. Stuart of Dunearn,) who feued twelve and a-quarter acres, (now including Moray Place,) at the rate of four bolls of barley per acre, and whose feu-charter, dated 26th January 1756, contains the following clause; “and further, that if the royalty of the city of Edinburgh shall at any time be hereafter extended, so as to comprehend the ground now feued, the said James Stuart and foresaids, or the proprietors of the said ground for the time, shall not only be subjected to build such houses as they shall build thereon, agree-

able to the plan to be concerted by the Town Council of Edinburgh, and other managers for the time, but likewise the said houses to be built thereon shall be subject and liable to pay the same public burdens as the other inhabitants of the city are subject and liable to pay." A similar clause was inserted in the feu-charter of nineteen and a-half acres of the lands of Coats, feued to Alexander Cunningham, W.S., now belonging to Sir Patrick Walker ; and, indeed, in every charter of the lands of Heriot's Hospital, extending to about 130 acres feued before the act of Parliament (27 Geo. III,) passed May 20, 1767, which included almost all the space, with one or two inconsiderable intervals, from the west end of Coats Crescent down to Leopold Place on the east, all of which lands are stated in the preamble of the act to have been feued by the Governors of Heriot's Hospital to the several persons, (after mentioned,) " under an express condition and covenant, that, in case the royalty of the city of Edinburgh should at any time thereafter be extended, so as to comprehend their grounds, they, their heirs and assignees, or the proprietors of the said grounds for the time, should not only be subjected to build such houses as they shall build thereon agreeably to the plan, &c., but likewise the said houses to be built thereon shall be subject and liable to pay *the same public burdens as the other inhabitants of the city are liable to pay.*" Some other proprietors besides these feuars whose names are inserted, had in the same manner given their consent to have their lands included in the royalty, and subjected to the several burdens, namely, " cess, annuity, poors-money, and watch-money," payable by the city of Edinburgh. All this was done before a single house was built in the New Town, for the first foundation was laid on the 26th of October 1767. From some late publications it might be inferred, and has been by many believed, that there was no legislative authority for exacting the annuity and poors-money from any part of the original New Town, till the act 1809 was passed,—but both the act 1767, and the feu-charters previously granted, show that the burden was laid on all that space, with consent of all who had any interest when the bill was brought into Parliament, and was in the same manner to be extended to several

other grounds which are not yet built upon, and therefore not yet affected by the burden, such as the lands (thirteen and three quarters acres) possessed by the late Baron Norton at Abbey-hill, the lands feued to the late James Donaldson on the road to Newhaven, and several others. A similar course was followed previously to the *second extension* of the royalty by act of Parliament, 25 Geo. III., c. 28, (1785,) including Duke Street, part of Abercromby Place, part of Albany Street, &c. and also previously to the *third extension* by act 26 Geo. III. c. 113, (1786,) including merely the breadth of the street now called York Place,—for, in both cases, the burdens were to affect only those whose charters bound them to bear their share, or else the houses and grounds purchased, or to be purchased by the city by virtue of the powers granted in these acts. The *fourth extension* by act 1809, comprehended Abercromby Place, Heriot Row, Northumberland Street, Great King Street, Drummond Place, London Street, Cumberland Street, Fettes Row, Royal Crescent, Cornwallis Place, Bellevue Crescent, Mansfield Place, East Albany Street, York Lane, Dublin Street, Scotland Street, Nelson Street, Duncan Street, Dundas and Pitt Street, Howe Street and St. Vincent Street, India Street and India Place, Royal Circus and Circus Place, Jamaica Street, and some properties not yet declared to be within the royalty. A *fifth extension* in 1814 includes Waterloo Place, the Jail, and neighbouring buildings.

The preamble of the act 1809 declares, that the proprietors of the lands and grounds to be included had either already consented, or were bound by their title-deeds to consent, to the extension, and in the same manner, the feuars or vassals of Heriot's Hospital were bound by their feu-charters or other title-deeds to consent,—and accordingly, in the second clause of the act, the Lord Provost and Magistrates were empowered to stent or assess and levy from the *proprietors* and *occupiers* of all houses built and erected already, or to be built and erected on the ground, an equal portion of cess, annuity, poor's money, and other duties, with those stented or assessed and levied, or that might be stented, assessed, and levied, by the said Lord Provost and Magistrates from the proprietors and



occupiers of houses in the extended royalty. The very extension of the royalty had for more than forty years been universally understood to involve the imposition of such burdens as were borne by other inhabitants of the town, and whatever notice might be required, that was a matter with which the clergy, at least, had no concern,—for the bill emanated from the Magistrates, and not from them,—and indeed they had for many years retarded its introduction. It is necessary to relate some circumstances not generally known, for the purpose of placing the conduct of the Ministers in a just light.

Though the burden of paying annuity was laid on the proprietors of houses in the New Town by the first, second, and third acts for extending the royalty, none of these statutes bound the Magistrates to provide churches for the accommodation of the inhabitants. The public trusted at first to the magnificent plan which lay on the Council table, an engraving of which was extensively circulated, on the face of which appeared a site for a splendid church on the east side of St. Andrew's Square, where the Royal Bank now stands, and another on the west side of Charlotte Square exactly opposite, in the line of George Street. It never entered into any man's imagination to suspect, that when the Magistrates bound the feuars to adhere strictly to the plans, they would feel themselves entitled to follow (as they did) their own capricious fancies in a variety of instances. This violation of good faith, as it was considered by the feuars, led to tedious litigation, which interrupted the building of the town, and drove feuars away to George's Square,—but at last, the dispute was adjusted by arbitration. No church was built in the New Town till the year 1783, when St. Andrew's Church was opened, and no other was founded till ten years after the commencement of the century, when the inhabitants of that part of the city had considerably exceeded 10,000. For sixteen years, therefore, the inhabitants of the New Town had no convenient church accommodation, and for thirty years more they had only one church. In the year 1801, a plan of building ground belonging to the city and Heriot's Hospital was produced to the Governors of that institution, and at a subsequent meeting, it was suggested by

■ Governor, that it would be for the advantage of the feuars, as well as the interest of the Hospital, that the ground should be included within the royalty. The proposition was favourably received, but on the 10th of March 1802, when the draft of a contract between the parties was presented, a difference of opinion arose concerning a proposed clause for obliging the Town Council to build a church, or churches, within the intended New Town. It was moved by Dr. Grieve, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, that the contract shall not be approved till a clause be inserted, binding the Magistrates to make a suitable ecclesiastical provision for the town to be built on the lands of Bellevue, and within a limited time, according to the spirit of one or other of the clauses proposed for that purpose by Dr. Inglis, the first of which was, that as soon as the duty or annuity to be levied in name of Ministers' stipend on the annual rent of inhabited houses built on the grounds referred to, shall amount to a sum equal to what may then be the stipend of one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, or within a reasonable time, not exceeding at any rate one year after the said duty or annuity shall have amounted to the sum thus specified, the Magistrates shall be bound to begin to build on some convenient spot of the grounds, a suitable church, for the accommodation of the people, and take the necessary measures for having the same erected into a parish church on the establishment of the Church of Scotland, and provided with a Minister of that communion, and to have the church finished, endowed, and provided with a Minister within three years from the commencement of the building. The *second* proposed clause was, that the Magistrates shall bind themselves to build sufficient churches for the accommodation of the inhabitants, in convenient situations on the grounds referred to, in proportion as the increasing population may require them, and also to take the necessary measures for having the same erected into parish churches upon the establishment of the Church of Scotland, and provided with Ministers of that communion, and for that purpose, to endow said churches, by providing for and securing stipends equal to those of the other Ministers of Edinburgh, and more particularly to have one of the said

churches built, finished, endowed, and provided with a Minister within eight years from the date of this contract, provided the annuity to be levied in name of Minister's stipend on the annual rent of inhabited houses built on the grounds described, shall by that time amount to a sum equal to what may then be a stipend of one of the Ministers of Edinburgh.

Can any man of ordinary discernment, zealously affected towards the general interests of religion, especially if he regards an establishment as a blessing and not as a curse, peruse these two proposals, (which I have injured by a necessarily hurried abridgment), and after perusing them still maintain that the heart which dictated and the hand which traced them, (now, alas ! cold as the unconscious dust), should in all time coming be scouted and scathed with posthumous odium for having, as it is said, built up, in the form of a clause of an act of Parliament, a monument of sin and shame never to be forgotten? For my part I must own, that, familiar as I am with woe, and betrothed, nay wedded to the clay, it was with tears of delighted admiration that yesterday, for the first time, my eyes glanced on those lines, which have presented to me, in a brighter aspect than ever, the excellences of a character to which I may have yielded a colder and more reluctant homage than became me; but I would blush more deeply than I do for my imperfect discrimination, if I could withhold this faint tribute to his mature and unpretending worth, at a time when some are meanly triumphing, as if the weapons of his warfare had been vilely cast away, and as if over the waning glory of our Israel the Lord of hosts would never again create a defence.

But I must beg pardon. I have interrupted my rapid narrative, and I must now ask what might be expected to be the result of these propositions submitted to the consideration of the Patrons and Ministers of the Churches of Edinburgh? All the Ministers present voted for inserting these clauses; and all the members of the Town Council present, (being the more numerous body), voted against them, with the exception of Deacon Mackay. Very strong reasons of protest were given in by the Ministers at the next meeting on the 16th of March,

which my leisure does not permit me to insert, but I may perhaps add them as an appendix with some other similar matter.

I might now take notice, that at the next meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, it was moved, that as the Magistrates of Edinburgh intend to apply to Parliament for an extension of the royalty of the city, the Presbytery, as the proper guardians of the interests of religion within their bounds, should appoint a committee of their number to use the proper means of providing for the erection of as many parochial churches for public worship within the said extended royalty as may be found necessary for the accommodation of the inhabitants. The Presbytery, after maturely considering the motion, unanimously appointed, as a committee for the above purpose, all the Ministers of the city, and of the suburbs, and instruct them to report their proceedings in due time.

In looking even transiently at these proceedings in Heriot's Hospital and the Presbytery, originating in both cases with the Ministers of Edinburgh, can any person undertake to say that he discerns the workings of a spirit eager to grasp at ungodly gains, or indifferent to the prosperity of the work of the Lord? Is it not evident that, so far from calculating on the appropriation of the increased produce of the annuity, they bargained on the application of every shilling to be yielded from the new district towards the provision of Ministers whose labours were to be dedicated to the district whence their emoluments were to be derived, and there was not a word said about diminishing the number of Ministers in the old? Such a proposal would have been at variance with the spirit, and even the letter of their proposal. Besides, is it not manifest that neither they nor the Magistrates appeared at this time to have the smallest doubt of the applicability of the annuity to the payment of more than six Ministers? And equally small must have been their doubt of the legality of levying more than 19,000 merks. And yet, my Lord, both you and I have heard it said that they did not wish for more churches, they did not care for the nourishment of famishing souls,—they only wished to amass the largest possible dividends of the booty, that they might eat the fat, and clothe

them with the wool, caring nothing for the flock of their pasture, but leaving it to their own wayward fancies whether they should be exposed as a prey to the devourer, or, being brought within the fold of the Chief Shepherd, should lie down in green pastures, and be led, beside the still waters, in paths of pleasantness and peace. How can we think there is much faith in the earth, when we see so little of the fervent charity which thinketh no evil?

After various communings with a Committee of the Town Council, it was reported to the Presbytery, on the 6th of May 1803, that the Town-Council had so far agreed with the views contained in a Memorial for the Presbytery, prepared by Dr. Inglis, but not inserted in the Record, as to admit that it had become necessary to have an additional church built in St. Andrew's parish, in the New Town, which might be done at little expense, by annexing one of the parishes of the royalty to the adjacent parishes, and translating the minister or ministers to the church so to be built and endowed: and farther, that so soon as the annuity of six per cent. to be received from the inhabitants of the grounds over which it is in contemplation to extend the royalty, shall amount to a sum sufficient for the stipend of *at least one minister*, and at the same time that there shall be 5000 inhabitants residing therein, that a new church shall be built and endowed, in some convenient place. A clause relative to this matter, proposed to be inserted in the bill, was submitted to the Presbytery, and approved of.

In February 1804, it was reported by a Committee of Ministers of Edinburgh, that an arrangement had been entered into between the Magistrates and Ministers, relative to the funds for the stipend of the Ministers—which arrangement was unanimously approved by the Presbytery. This plan had been adjusted at a meeting on the 19th July 1803, at which were present the Lord Provost and the Lord Advocate, now Lord President Hope, the Solicitor-General (late Lord President Blair,) the Procurator (Lord Robertson,) Doctors Hunter, Grieve, and Finlayson, with their agent. A proposal was made to raise the Ministers' stipend to L.300, on this condition, that if the annuity fund should by any circumstances become inefficient,



the proposed augmentation should cease. The Ministers present acceded, and expressed their expectation that their brethren would concur in an application to Parliament for an act to explain, amend, and enlarge the acts by which the annuity was first imposed, or in any other way which might be thought most conducive to the object in view; and farther, as the increase of the fund from the annuity must arise from the enlargement of the city in houses and inhabitants, it will no doubt become necessary that new churches should be built; and the Ministers present thought their brethren would see no objection to a provision being made in the act for such new erections, when there shall be a sufficient fund for affording a stipend to the Ministers who shall officiate in such new churches: the expense of building and keeping in repair the whole churches within the royalty being always defrayed by the Magistrates; and every new erection or establishment of a new Minister, to take place only with the consent and approbation of the Court of Teinds, judging on a view of the necessity of the case, and of the existing state of the produce of the annuity; provided always, that no new erection of a church, or establishment of a new Minister shall take place till the stipends of the present Ministers shall be augmented to L.300, to which sum they shall be raised, as soon as the funds will admit of it. As the annuity, when farther sanctioned by act of Parliament, and sufficiently productive, is to be the only fund out of which the present and future augmentations are to be afforded, the Ministers of the city shall still retain all their rights and claims to the funds out of which their present stipends are paid, as a security for the same; and as the whole produce of the annuity is to be appropriated for the payment of the stipends of the Ministers of Edinburgh, and augmentations thereof, and for no other purpose, the said annuity shall be vested in trustees to be afterwards named, who shall appoint a collector, whose accounts shall be annually audited by the city accountant, and an accountant to be named by the Ministers,—that the court shall have power, from time to time, at the desire of the Magistrates or Ministers, but after hearing the other party, to make such orders or regulations as



may become necessary, from time to time, to carry the plan into execution, particularly to declare, when and what augmentation the Ministers shall have—such augmentation, after the stipends amount to L.300, not to be granted oftener than once in seven or ten years, so as to leave occasionally a fund for an additional Minister, if found necessary.

To this plan is subjoined a note, signed by the Lord Advocate, stating that it coincided so nearly with one which he had proposed as equally advantageous to the clergy and to the city, that it ought to be at once acceded to. His Lordship concluded by recommending, that the Ministers should be put in immediate possession of their augmentation, and that a committee of the Presbytery ought to be immediately named, to meet with one for the Council, to prepare the bill which it will be necessary to bring in next session of Parliament.

It was then reported by the committee relative to the plan for having new churches erected in the extended royalty, that Sir Henry Moncreiff had obtained from the Lord Provost full assurance that the clause on that subject, recorded in the Presbytery minutes of 5th May 1803, would be recorded in the bill for extending the royalty, soon to be brought into Parliament. The Presbytery approved of this report, and appointed the committee to correspond with Mr. Cumming, W. S. their agent, on the subject of using the proper precautions, that the arrangement between the Magistrates and Ministers should not interfere with the execution of the object now mentioned.

Thus an arrangement seemed to be in a great measure completed,—but the most important object was very far from being accomplished. In the mean time, the sale, or rather feuing of the ground was going on. The following is the ninth condition in the articles of sale of part of Heriot Row, 11th March 1803,—That the purchasers shall consent and agree to the extension of the royalty of the city of Edinburgh in the respective lots and grounds to be purchased, and that the proprietors and inhabitants there shall be subject and liable to all burdens and impositions to which the other burgesses and in-

habitants of the city of Edinburgh are, or may be, liable for or subjected to.

On the 28th of February 1806, the Council of Heriot's Hospital authorized Bailie Bannatine to sign a contract between the city of Edinburgh, the Governors of the Hospital and the new proprietors of the ground feued to David Stewart on the north of Queen Street. Dr. Inglis, Dr. Campbell, and Dr. Brunton entered a protest against the adoption of the contract in its present form, as containing no provision for the ecclesiastical establishment of the town intended to be built,—for the reasons assigned in a similar protest, March 10, 1802.—The contract in question, like the articles of sale, formerly mentioned, bound the parties to consent, that the royalty should be extended over the grounds by an act of Parliament, and that the inhabitants and proprietors be subjected in payment of all taxations and burdens of every kind imposed, or to be imposed, on the other burgesses of the city of Edinburgh.

Here I cannot help remarking, for the last time, that no reasonable man who was thus bound, either under this contract, or under prior contracts and charters, can be supposed to have omitted to inform himself of the amount of the burdens which had previously been imposed, and of the contingent burdens which might probably be added. The amount of the annuity was a matter of such notoriety that no man who either feued or rented a house could possibly be ignorant of it.

It is also evident, that the struggle between the Magistrates and the Ministers, on the provision for the ecclesiastical establishment, continued to be a subject of much anxiety to the latter,—and this consideration ought to suffice to explain the reason why it was thought so important to have the matter explicitly and definitively settled under the long-meditated bill, which was not brought into Parliament till the beginning of the year 1809. Without entering into any unimportant details, I shall simply mention, that on the 27th of February that year, “ Dr. Inglis submitted to the Presbytery the clause relative to the building of the new churches proposed to be inserted in the act of Parliament

about to be passed for extending the royalty of the city of Edinburgh, and the same having been read and approved of, the Presbytery resolved that it should be proposed to the Magistrates to have an additional provision introduced into the act to this effect, that the first church to be built in the extended royalty should be finished within two years, from and after the passing of the act." I cannot avoid saying here, that if Dr. Inglis' proposals pressed on the adoption of the Governors of George Heriot's Hospital had been acted upon in 1802, there ought to have been two *additional churches and ministers* by this time in the New Town,—but even then, when there were 12,000 inhabitants in the New Town, and no other church but St. Andrew's, the Magistrates did not adopt the advice of the Presbytery, but merely obtained authority to *enter forthwith into contracts* for building and completing *within a competent time* one church,—and another as soon as there shall be 5000 inhabitants within the limits over which the royalty is extended by the present act. St. George's, the first of the churches, was not begun to be built for more than two years after the passing of the act, nor finished till June 1814, more than five years after passing of the act. And St. Mary's Church was delayed about ten years longer, by which time the population of the New Town was, I think, at least 24,000. So valid had been the reasons all along for endeavouring to bind the Magistrates down to a practicable degree of despatch.

The last proceeding in relation to the Act to which I shall advert, is that which took place at a very numerous meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 29th of March 1809, attended by thirty ministers and about twenty elders. The minute bears that the bill for extending the royalty of the city of Edinburgh, including certain clauses relative to the building of new churches, and to the provision for the ministers of the city, was laid before the Presbytery, read and approved; and the moderator was authorized to subscribe a doquet declaring the Presbytery's approbation of the said bill, in so far as they are concerned. I cannot too often repeat that this could not be called a surreptitious act, for the very definition of surreptitious implies studied and dishonest concealment.

A more effectual mode of giving publicity to a transaction could scarcely have been devised. Elders from almost all the parishes in the city were present, waiting for the election of members to the General Assembly, and at no ordinary meeting is the attendance of strangers generally so numerous. But what is more important than any thing else, the whole members of Presbytery, including Sir Henry Moncreiff, who had a perfect understanding of the matter, having been several years ■ member of the committee, expressed their approbation, and thus became as responsible for the propriety and legality of the transaction, as if they had been the original movers in it. And it will not be very easy for Mr. Aytoun to convince reflecting people, that the upright and intelligent persons, fourteen ministers, and a greater number of elders, all having either no personal interest to serve, or a pecuniary interest opposed to that of the ministers of Edinburgh, several of them having been rate-payers, were capable of conspiring together to practise an imposition on the public. Equally incredible is it that there should have been any sinister combination with the Magistrates, at a time when the Ministers were in reality at variance with the Magistrates on matters far more important than their patrimonial interests,—though, with regard to these matters, they had been compelled often to enter into very uncomfortable discussions, as indeed the presbyterian clergy had been in very many instances from the very dawn of the Reformation. The very men who were the most active instruments in the hand of God for achieving the deliverance of their countrymen from spiritual and temporal thralldom, and especially from the darkness of ignorance, knew by experience that if they did not struggle for a moderate sufficiency, they might be left destitute of daily food. In a book published in 1563, David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, describes the straits to which he and the other Ministers had been exposed for a considerable time. “The *greatest number* of us (says he, at a time when the number was still very small) have lived in great penury, without all stipend, some twelve months, some eight, and some half a year, having nothing in the mean time to sustain ourselves and our families, but that

which we have borrowed of charitable persons, until God send it to us to repay them." In a sermon on Tithes, preached and published eight years afterwards (a sermon which John Knox approved, "with his dead hand but glad heart,") Ferguson complains, that "whereas the time had been when kings, princes, and other noble men liberally enriched the kirk, so now by the contrary all their travail is to satiate their greediness with the spoil thereof." \* This sermon, containing a vast number of similar sharp reproofs, was preached before the regent and nobility of Scotland in January 1571. Mr. Robert Pont's sermons on sacrilege, written by order of the General Assembly, are somewhat in the same strain.—"I will not deny, (says he), but the teinds might be possibly changed into other means of sufficient provision for the kirks, if such godly zeal were now among men as was of old time. But in so far as we see the plain contrary, that men are now readier to take away than ever our predecessors were to give, it were a foolish thing to lose the certain for the uncertain, and that which is never likely to come to pass." He spoke from experience, for after having been earnestly solicited to accept the charge of St. Andrew's, he laboured there a year, but was compelled to leave it, because he was never provided with a stipend. I have already mentioned the nominal amount of some of the stipends, but they were miserably paid, and the men who were thus deprived of their only means of comfortable subsistence, were at the same time loaded with contumely. John Knox was most unjustly and cruelly slandered, as being addicted not only to extortion but to every hateful immorality. David Ferguson, to whose poverty I have referred, was accused of being an unrighteous gatherer of riches. John Winram, superintendant of Fife, was called a greedy and dissembled smaik. I hope Mr. Aytoun has not caught any hereditary antipathy against Presbyterian ministers, in consequence of the following inci-

\* I reprinted a limited number of this rare sermon ten years ago, but the copies are still lying in the printer's hands, because I have never found time to fulfil my intention of writing a preface satisfactory to myself.



dent recorded in the Act Book of the Commissariat of St. Andrew's, 14th May 1576.—“ Cause pursued by James and Robert Aittouns and Mr. Andrew Aittoun of Kinawdy, their father, against Mr. John Winram, Superintendent,” (who had married Dame Margaret Stewart, the former lady of Kinwardy, and had inherited more than they wished him to possess, perhaps supposing that he had surreptitiously inserted a clause in the will.) They claimed 32 bolls of oats, a pair of bracelets of gold estimated at 20 pounds, a cross of gold hung with a small chain, 16 pounds, also four rings of gold, price of the piece overhead, three pounds, also 115 pounds money, &c. They did not gain their cause, for the Judge decerned Mr. John Winram to be absolved simpliciter, because the pursuers failed in proving their charge. I consider Winram one of the least of the reformers, but I trust that his wife's son and grandsons must have been in error when they accused him of fraud, in the same manner as another Fife laird was found to be, when he charged him with sheep-stealing, because he had found it necessary to poind some of his cattle for a great arrear of stipend, the payment of which was obstinately refused, without any plea of inability. He was not, indeed, so poor as many of his abler coadjutors, but poor was the worldly recompense which the best and greatest of them obtained,—poor certainly in comparison with the benefits which they conferred on the community, in shedding light and truth on a degraded and darkened generation. Through their instrumentality chiefly was that impulse given to the human mind, and those schools of good learning instituted, which have been the means of raising our country to that moral and intellectual eminence for which its natives have been distinguished. Surely if these men had loved darkness they would not so long have maintained any communion with light, and both personally and by the aid of friends provided an inheritance of useful and sound knowledge for the children of the needy. These are not the deceitful works of darkness, and so long as I believe that the fruit has been so precious, I cannot admit that it has sprung from an unholy root.\*

\* I meant to have treated of a number of other matters of still



I think I have already answered all that is material in Mr. Aytoun's speech, but lest I should be charged with leaving any thing untouched, I beg to notice a few of his minor details. He says that the seventeenth clause of the Act 1809 sets out with enacting, that to prevent all doubt respecting the legality of *levying* the six per cent., the magistrates shall be empowered to levy as they had been in use to do. He at the same time says over and over again, that the levying more than a certain sum before that time had been illegal; and, it appears, the Magistrates had at one time evaded the claims of the Ministers by using such language. But the Court of Session found that it had not been illegal. And the doubt inserted in the clause had not related to the legality of *levying* by itself, but of *levying* and *APPLYING* to certain purposes. And to what purposes? Here is the question, the solution of which extricates the whole perplexity of the case, and saps the foundation of Mr. Aytoun's air-built structure. It appears to be quite characteristic of his mode of reasoning, to pick out some subordinate sentence or clause, and to found on it a position which would be seen to be untenable, if the whole connected passage were brought into view. Will any man capable of construing the English language, read over by itself the seventeenth clause of the Act 1809, beginning with the words "and to prevent all doubt respecting the legality of levying and applying to this and similar purposes," and then say it forms a complete or intelligible sentence, with-

greater interest than that which forms the subject of this letter, if, indeed, any matter can be much more interesting than the unsullied character of those whom we are called upon to remember as having had the rule over us, and whose faith we are required to follow. One topic is the alleged superfluous number of churches and ministers. Whenever I hear any body advocate a reduction, I can never help thinking on a passage in the second volume of Caledonia, where the author, describing Peebles, takes notice of at least three churches and a greater number of chapels before the Reformation, and then gives vent to his indignation at the person whom in 1810 he calls the present minister, (meaning Dr. Dalgleish), for having spoken coolly of the needless multiplicity of churches in ancient times, as if one minister could administer the comforts of Christianity to a town with a surrounding parish ten miles long.

out taking in something that precedes it? It requires to be read in combination with several preceding paragraphs, but specially the sixteenth clause,—and this clause tells us plainly what the purpose is—It is *the endowing of an additional church*, “by providing and securing to the minister or ministers thereof the same yearly stipend or stipends and other emoluments, which at present are or may hereafter be paid to the other ministers of the said city of Edinburgh.” These are the words which immediately precede the seventeenth clause, and these words tell us plainly what is meant by *this purpose*. They also furnish a key for opening up the meaning of the words *similar purposes*. What else can similar purposes be, but endowing other churches when they become necessary to meet the growing wants of a rapidly-increasing population? The tedious details which I have furnished are not superfluous, for they appear to me to prove beyond the power of contradiction, that this had been a favourite purpose with the ministers for many years. They had been thwarted and tantalized; and when they yielded to less satisfactory measures, they had the mortification of learning that every arrangement by which new churches were supplied with ministers was not uncommonly ascribed to some selfish feeling on their part. But to let this pass—I ask your Lordship, if it be not evident what is intended by the not insignificant words *this and similar purposes*? The doubt had been if the annuity could legally be applied to more than six ministers,—the others being understood to be supported by other funds. I have never been very able to comprehend how those who had no doubt of the legality of collecting six per cent. could have any doubt of the legality of applying it with the consent of the six on the annuity fund (if any body knew who they were,) to as many more as were necessary. It is clear that from the first there was no distinction. Some suppose that the six must have been intended to be the senior ministers. I think the presumption is rather that the senior ministers were such as were previously provided for, and the six were such as were superinduced on the establishment. It is manifest that at first the six per cent. did not yield a fund which supported six

ministers. And if at that time the six, whether old or young, shared in the funds in which the others had a patrimonial interest, was it not reasonable, that when the annuity became more valuable than the other funds, it should supply what was lacking to make all the stipends payable from the other funds equal to the stipends chargeable on the annuity fund. In practice, the whole funds had invariably been put into one common stock, and with some occasional and inconsiderable exceptions, all had shared alike. Nevertheless a doubt existed ; and the palpable and only intelligible object of the seventeenth clause was to give a power to the Magistrates, not of wringing from the citizens any new exactions, or adding the weight of a feather to the burdens already sufficiently heavy which had been imposed on them for nearly two centuries, but of applying the annuity exigible under this act by authority of a clause which the Ministers had no hand in introducing, (a clause substantially the same with that which had been inserted in all the previous acts for extending the royalty, and that, too, in every instance with the consent of all who had any previous interest in the grounds to be included,)—a power, (I say) of applying the annuity, (payable at the same rate as it had been ever since 1661,) along with other funds, not only for the payment of the Ministers of the churches already on the establishment of the city, but also, in an equal proportion, for the payment of such other minister or ministers as might be appointed to the churches required to be built under the authority of the act. This clause *gave* the Ministers nothing which they did not consider to be their right before, but *took away* from any number of them who might think themselves entitled to a higher endowment than the rest, and it took away from the whole number all right of objecting against a distribution of this fund, along with the other funds, over a wider surface ; and thus while it gave the magistrates and the people a title to say, here is a fund sufficiently ample for the support of a greater number of Ministers, it deprived the pre-existing Ministers of every colourable plea for saying, no, here we have a vested interest in the whole produce of a fund, and without our consent you shall not touch it with one of your fingers.

The act had indeed given the Magistrates a power of discontinuing one or two churches in the ancient royalty, with the consent of the Presbytery, and transferring the Minister or Ministers to the new,—but it had not taken from the Presbytery the power of withholding its consent,—and it evidently contemplated the probability of the Presbytery declining to discontinue more churches than one,—and it is quite clear, that it was not imperative on the Presbytery to consent to the discontinuance of so much as one.

I am here tempted to take notice of a circumstance on which I know some stress is laid. It is said, why were the Presbytery much more willing twenty years ago to discontinue churches in the old town than they pretend to be now; and how could they be so inconsistent as actually to thwart the wish of the Magistrates to make a separate endowment for St. George's Church in 1814, leaving the old town supplied with the same number of Ministers as before? If I had not already exceeded all reasonable bounds, I think I could satisfactorily explain every minute particular connected with this matter. But I beg leave to say, first, that the Presbytery did nothing more on that occasion than the act of Parliament allowed, and they did only half as much as the act seemed to point out. It was understood, that if any churches were to be discontinued, the Old Church and the New North were the two, the removal of which would produce the least inconvenience. Both the parishes were of small population,—the former having had 1362 inhabitants in 1801, and the latter at the same period only 1034. In 1811, the increase in the New North parish was the very least that occurred during the preceding ten years. In 1801, it had increased only to 1147, while the Old Church had increased to 1566. The Tolbooth in 1811 had 1684 inhabitants. It really would not have appeared a very unreasonable thing to annex the New North Church parish either to the Tolbooth or the Old Church, or partly to the one and partly to the other, and if both the Ministers of the New North Church had been younger men, some such course as this would probably have been followed. But it was thought better in the mean time

to keep it up with one Minister, and it was done so as to enable the Magistrates to send to St. George's Church, by a very simple process, the Minister, who, of all other men, was probably best adapted for the station. Nevertheless many serious persons lamented that the New North Church should have been then uncollegiated with a view to its ultimate suppression, or rather its annexation to another parish, and I happen to possess a copy of a remonstrance on the part of your Lordship and several other elders of the parish, who objected to the measure "on the ground that the number of churches in this city is already too limited," and for several other solid and weighty reasons in which I think I would have heartily concurred. But at the same time it must be owned that there was at that time an impression that the population of the Old Town was likely to diminish rapidly, while there was little ground for apprehending that in the Old Town the quality of the population was to be materially different from what it had been for many years before. Respectable merchants lived generally in common stairs very near their places of business, and contrived as much as possible to restrain disorders in the neighbourhood. I remember about that time a gentleman, who was Lord Provost two or three years afterwards, lived in one of the common stairs in the New North parish, occupying a space which may perhaps now be the habitation of half-a-dozen of families or more. Your Lordship and I were well acquainted with another Lord Provost, who at that time, and several years afterwards, lived in a common stair in the College Church parish. The removal of such respectable individuals to self-contained houses beyond the ancient royalty a few years afterwards, led to a transition not less violent than would take place if the whole population of Ireland were in the course of three or four years to emigrate from their native hills, and colonize the cities and villages of Scotland, to the utter exclusion of the present inhabitants. Every person who thinks of this fact, must know that measures might appear reasonable in 1809 or 1814, which have become much less reasonable now. The lofty tenements, five or six stories high, which probably accommodated five families twenty years ago, in the line of the Lawnmarket, High



Street and Canongate, are probably now filled with five or six times the number of inhabitants. "Look on this picture and on that," and tell me whether the former or the present inhabitants stood most in need of spiritual superintendence, as well as other aid, which a parochial establishment is intended to supply. I am aware that a good number of houses in the Old Town, formerly respectably occupied as dwelling-houses, are now converted into places of business. In my parish it is particularly so. There are now very few dwelling-houses in that part of the South Bridge which extends from the Canongate to Drummond Street.—But it must be recollected, that this very circumstance gives to a great number of persons whose residences are beyond the royalty, and who are therefore not reckoned in the population of the city,—a claim on the attentions of the Ministers of the royalty,—for so long as they bear a share (often a very large share, indeed generally the largest share) of the burdens of the ecclesiastical establishment, I cannot see that they have not a peculiar claim to be ranked in the number of parishioners. Thus, I have respectable individuals whose whole business is carried on in my parish, and who belong to my congregation, but whose residences are in the Canongate, or the New Town, or Leith Walk, or the southern districts. In that way, my parish appears on paper to be much less numerous than in practice I am bound to regard it, and every Minister in the Old Town must experience something of the same kind.

But I must draw to a close. Mr. Aytoun charges the Ministers of Edinburgh with having, immediately after the act 1809, made a demand on the Magistrates for the sole possession of a great number of sources of revenue,—such as, 1st, "*ALL the church lands which had belonged to the Popish Clergy of Edinburgh.*" This, he says, he reads from the summons. This, I say, he does not read from the summons. Yes, my Lord, I repeat, wherever he found the words, which he or his reporter has marked with inverted commas as a quotation, he did not read them from a copy of the summons served on the Magistrates, or ever so much as thought of by



the Ministers. Recollect, my Lord, the word *ALL*, is a very important one. But here is the fact. The Ministers in the summons, drawn of course by a man of business, one of the most intelligent and honourable in the profession, made a distinction between two sources of revenue on which they had a claim : first, the common good ; and secondly, certain funds provided for the special purpose of supporting the City Ministers, which it certainly was maintained ought to be fully and fairly appropriated to the objects of their destination, and to no other use. The first article which they particularize is not *all*, but *a variety* of church lands and revenues, which it was stated very truly had been given to the Magistrates, to be by them applied to the support of the Ministers of the city and *other ecclesiastical purposes*. In the conclusion of the first article of the summons it is added, “ But as to the exact nature or amount of these revenues, the pursuers have obtained but little information.” They just know that they had been given for the support of the ministry, hospitals and schools, and that in 1661, when the annuity was fixed at six per cent. they yielded about as much as paid one Minister. In 1678 Fountainhall states them as being worth 3000 merks, and it was not supposed that they were ever afterwards of a greater amount. But your Lordship will observe that there is a very great difference between Mr. Aytoun’s reading “ *ALL* the church lands which had belonged to the popish clergy of Edinburgh,” and “ *A VARIETY* of church lands and revenues,” applicable to the support of the Ministers, and other purposes. In the Information for the Ministers they claimed a proportion—but to say the truth, it was not worth their while. I know that they expected very little, and they got nothing from this source at all. “ Secondly, (says Mr. Aytoun) the *whole annuity, as extended by the Act 1809.*” They did not say *as extended* by the act 1809, and they did not consider it as extended in 1809, in any other way than as it comprehended a greater portion of ground ; and if their counsel had been followed in 1802, the annuity payable by that extended district would have been in a great measure, if not altogether, exhausted by

the Ministers, *two or more*, of the churches which they proposed to be built on the ground. This second claim of theirs was sustained—for the court found the annuity to belong to them. 3. “The custom on ton and pack”—this they claimed, no doubt, and this they got. 4. “The whole revenue derived from the seat-rents.” These were not their words,—but they did state that “according to the information of the pursuers (I quote their words) these *seat-rents* were appropriated to the payment of the Ministers’ stipend,” in different Acts of Council, the earliest in 1639, and the latest in 1781. I am sorry they made the claim, though I am pretty sure that if this plea had been sustained, the seat-rents would never have been so high as they are in some churches. In 1781, L.200 was paid from this fund to the Ministers. 5. “The Mortification by Lady Yester.” The amount of this claim as stated by the Ministers was L.13, 7s. 9d., a goodly sum of about 15s. 9d. each, which nobody could deny belonged to them. 6. “The impost on wines.” In the summons the Ministers included this article, accompanying it with a declaration that they did not know to what extent they had an interest in it, and they did not allege that they had any claim beyond one-fourth. The Court at first sustained their claim in part, but afterwards found that they had no right. 7. “The twopenny Scots on the pint of ale and beer.” Here again Mr. Aytoun quotes incorrectly. Any one would conclude from his words that the whole duty was claimed, whereas the Ministers claimed only a proportion of it, and in their *Information* they limited the claim to L.137, 17s. 8d. for New Greyfriars Church, and the Court found that to this extent they had a just claim. 8. “Manses.” This was not decided. And the same may be said of the last point; for, after the only material parts of the Ministers’ claim had been decided in their favour, they entered into a compromise. But if every thing claimed had been conceded, according to their calculations, the stipends of the Ministers would not have been beyond L.750; that is to say, just one-fourth part of the bishoprick which Mr. Aytoun says

they would have possessed. It has been understood, that the Minister of North Leith, and one of the Ministers of Greenock, had stipends equal to this. Possibly they may have less at this time, if their feu-duties are paid according to the prices of grain. But if there had been ample funds destined to ecclesiastical purposes, I am very sure that many people would have thought stipends of L.750 not too exorbitant. I do not say that it is not better that they should be lower; but I do say, that if I had foreseen one-half of the difficulties with which I have been encompassed, ever since I have been connected with this city, and anticipated with how little satisfaction to myself, and how little profit to others, my labours have been accompanied, though I can say I have never, in the course of ten years, devoted so much as ten days altogether to relaxation, or engaged in any pursuits except such as are, in the strictest sense of the word, professional, I would have perceived it to be incomparably more advantageous to me in point of ease, and comfort, and usefulness, as well as sufficiency of this world's goods, to retain any one of the stations which I have formerly occupied, or to accept of one or other of those which have been within my reach, than to cast in my lot with the Ministers of Edinburgh. We certainly do not possess the distinction (not a very blessed one,) of having all men to speak well of us. I hope it may be for our benefit, and for the benefit of others ultimately, that we do bear reproach. But I know that it is not a subject of congratulation to mankind, that there should be so great a tendency among many, as I fear there is, to bear false witness against their neighbour. I do not apply these words to Mr. Aytoun, for conscientiously do I believe, that he has not said what he suspects to be *morally* or even *logically* untrue. But I do say, that he has spoken unadvisedly, and the cause which he knew not he has not searched out. He fancies that he possesses abundance of infallible proof,—but he has not sifted his evidence, and he does not distinguish the chaff from the wheat. It is easy for him, or for any man, to say, here are men overpaid and overfed, impatient of labour, and greedy of gain, tax-collecting and tax-imposing clergy, who have twice as much as their

predecessors, and never say,—“It is enough.” Therefore, let us have fewer.—Cut off five at once from the number.—The remainder will not have too much to do,—and the people will not have too much to pay. Well, then, cut them off, and where is the great gain to the community? You may always calculate on having some old men in the number, and others who, by the visitations of Providence, labour under temporary incapacity. If you have ten out of thirteen who are altogether efficient, it is as many as can be expected. More, indeed, than they have in Glasgow, but not half so many as might be ornaments of society, and useful labourers in the vineyard. Some people speak with a sneer of the days of Blair, and Robertson, and Henry, and Hardy, because it is said that little parochial duty was done. I believe that the pastoral services of these men have been much overrated, but I am very sure that they contributed at least as great a share as the men of any other profession, to give to Edinburgh the character of an intellectual city, thus making it pre-eminently attractive as a place of education. When I hear people disparage such names as these, I wonder that they do not seriously propose that an academical education shall be dispensed with, because the cultivation of letters is only a snare and impediment to the labours of ■ working clergy. I must candidly own, so far as my experience goes, that a minister in Edinburgh would be much fitter for the duties which are now thought the most important, if he had very little turn for literature and science, and even as things are at present, I do not see how there can be any leisure for engaging in such pursuits. It may be, and probably it is, better that every one of us should learn to exercise this self-denial, and yet I cannot help apprehending that it will not add either to the strength or the beauty of our ecclesiastical establishment, if it can ever be said with truth that the Church of Scotland is becoming the least learned body in the kingdom.

I intended to animadvert on some very extravagant mistakes committed in the petition sent last summer to Parliament. It is to be lamented that there should be persons so very thoughtless as not to consider how important it is for their own

characters, that they should not affix their names to statements which are in many particulars inconsistent with fact, how desirable soever may be the end which they wish to accomplish. With regard to that end, I for one am very willing that any reasonable means may be employed, which will really lighten the burdens of the people, and in every respect add to their well-being. I am not advocating the continuance of the annuity tax. I have been employed merely in vindicating my own accuracy of statement, and thus at the same time endeavouring to remove some of the unfavourable and unfounded impressions against the Ministers of the city which appear to have gained ground. I am alone responsible for all that I have here stated, having had no communication on the matter with any of my brethren. There are some other topics on which I may afterwards trouble your Lordship, but I have already trespassed so far, that I must beg pardon for inflicting on you so long a letter, which has only this advantage over a long speech, that if you weary of it, you can throw it aside. It is my prayer and hope that though we are at present exposed to the collision of opinion in a degree which is not altogether pleasing, we may yet have "peace and truth in our days."

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

JOHN LEE.

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P.S.—I perceive, from a paper of this evening, that Mr. Aytoun, in a speech delivered yesterday alleges, that [in a letter to the Editor of the Courant] "Dr. Lee had not ventured to touch upon the proof which he brought forward of the surreptitious manner in which the clause alluded to was intro-

duced into the Bill of 1809 ; for he wisely passed over all the quotations which Mr. Aytoun advanced on the subject." And he afterwards calls on me, along with my brethren, to prove that we are sincere in wishing to stand by the Act of 1661, by joining in a Petition to Parliament to have the Act of 1809 repealed.

I have never signified any wish to stand by the Act of 1661, because in that case the Acts of 1767, 1785 and 1786, would also be thrown aside, in which case the people of the Old Town alone would labour under the burden of the annuity, while the feuars of the New Town, all of whom were bound by their charters to agree to the imposition of every tax affecting the royalty, would escape. But with regard to the Act 1809, according to my understanding of it, I do not care if the seventeenth clause, which he avers, was *surreptitiously* inserted, and which I aver was not surreptitiously inserted, were obliterated and given to the winds. I suppose Mr. Aytoun does not require the 2d clause to be blotted out ; but I do not care though it were blotted out too, if some equally secure mode of providing sufficiently for as many Churches as are required on the grounds north of Queen Street, not comprehended under former acts, shall be substituted. Though no lawyer, I venture to consider the clause objected to as a superfluity,—and I think it might as well have been omitted. The reason why I think so I shall now explain. My construction of it is, that it was intended merely to remove a doubt which the Magistrates had professed to entertain, and that its effect was merely to authorize them to levy *and apply* the produce, as they professed hitherto to have done, for the payment of the stipends of all the Ministers already on the establishment, and also of such other Minister or Ministers as might be appointed. Now, I think I am not very rash in affirming, that the Magistrates possessed sufficient power of that kind before. They had exercised a power of that kind repeatedly under very good advice, and, in particular, they had endowed a new charge not more than ten years before, under the advice of the late Lord President Blair, (when Solicitor General,) who saw no difficulty in the matter. In August



1800, a memorial, prepared by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, was laid before Mr. Blair, by Sir Henry Moncreiff, on the subject of New Erections, with reference particularly to the establishment of a Colleague Minister for St. Andrew's Church, and certain queries were proposed to him. It was the opinion of Mr. Blair, that the Magistrates were entitled to give an obligation, binding the community in all time coming to pay an additional Minister the same stipend which was payable to the other Ministers of Edinburgh,—but that the validity of the establishment depended on its being sanctioned and authorized by the Presbytery, who have the proper superintendence of ecclesiastical matters within their bounds. I may as well add (as I have been led to mention the subject,) that he was equally clear that if a permanent fund is provided for the maintenance of a Minister, the Magistrates and Town Council have no power to suppress the same; and he doubted very much whether it could be done even with the consent and approbation of the Presbytery. The Presbytery, on hearing this opinion, unanimously resolved to grant their authority for the erection of St. Andrew's Church and parish into a collegiate charge, so soon as the city of Edinburgh shall lay before them an Act of Council containing a sufficient security for the stipend of the additional minister. If the views of the Ministers of Edinburgh expressed about two years after his had been concurred in by the Magistrates, two additional Ministers would probably have been fixed before 1809 in the district north of Queen Street, with stipends payable out of the annuity derived from that district.

Now, as to my having not ventured to touch on the proof of the surreptitious manner in which the 17th clause of the bill was introduced, I say, that on Saturday evening, when the letter to the Editor of the Courant was written, I had not much time to compare Mr. Aytoun's quotations with the papers from which he professed to take them, and I now repeat, that I perceive he still quotes incorrectly. I thought it enough to announce that I would answer him, and in the mean time to state that his fundamental statement about the 19,000 merks was not consistent with fact. He now

seems to think it immaterial whether the 19,000 merks were or were not specified in the act 1661, as that act (he says) was a Ratification of two former acts, and every body who knows any thing of Parliamentary practice, knows what a Ratification of a former act means. Now, when Mr. Aytoun shows me the title *Ratification*, which he formerly said was prefixed to the act—and when he shews me an instance of the unparliamentary paradox of ratifying an act, which having just been repealed, was to be numbered among the things which are not—and when he convinces me that his opinion as to the ratification of this nonentity is more to be depended on than that of the Judges in the Court of Session, I will frankly allow that his knowledge of Parliamentary practice is singularly profound: but still, with great humility, I ask, why did he put in italics, the words, “in order to make up the sum of 19,000 merks,” if he did not mean to create an impression, that they were embodied in the act, where he is now compelled to acknowledge that they had no existence?

I humbly trust I have already touched sufficiently on Mr. Aytoun's *proof*, (as he calls it,) of the surreptitious manner in which the clause was introduced. If I have not, I beg only to use the freedom of adding, as inoffensively as I can, that the Dean of the Faculty of 1809, who revised that clause, was as likely to understand such matters as Mr. Aytoun. And if the Judges were right in their construction of the previous acts, and in considering the clause as making *no change on the matter of the fund*, where are we to find the men whose interests could be injuriously affected by the clause, unless we can conjure up the six ideal ministers, (the progeny of a legal fiction,) whose hypothetical existences (like the Ratification of a rescinded act,) no man could ever yet identify, though the imaginative minds of some former Magistrates appear to have been seized with an unaccountable apprehension, that at some future day these dreaded chimeras would start from their unknown dwelling-places, and call the administrators of this most vexatious fund to a count and reckoning?

Wednesday Evening, Feb. 5, 1834.

## APPENDIX.

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REASONS of PROTEST by Dr. GRIEVE and others, MINISTERS of Edinburgh in March 1802, against the Refusal of the other Governors of George Heriot's Hospital, to insert in the Contract for building on the ground north of Queen Street, a clause binding them to provide additional Churches and Ministers for the accommodation of the Inhabitants of the District.

“*1mo.* That when a New Town is to be built, the propriety of erecting a church does not appear to admit of a question,—and though the expediency of doing so be accordingly acknowledged in a general view by the present Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh, it appears both suitable and essential, that, in the present contract, they and their successors in office should have them laid under a direct obligation to this effect. Because, without such an obligation, the opinion, and even intentions of men who may vacate their respective situations at the expiry of the year, can afford no security to the public. Because there has been long an *acknowledged want* of an additional Church in the New Town already built, without any steps having been hitherto taken to supply this defect. Because, whatever may be the state of the Town's funds, as the Town Council always find the money that is necessary to enable them to provide as they ought for the temporal accommodation of the inhabitants, it is to be presumed they may also find the money that is necessary to enable them to provide in this instance for their religious accommodation, which it will not be pled is of less importance;—and because even the building of a church at a future period, without a previous pledge being now given for this, will not have the effect to prevent in the intended New Town already built, the erecting in the mean time of Episcopal chapels and other dissenting meeting-houses, which would never be thought of were the inhabitants assured of a church upon our ecclesiastical establishment, but which, when actually built, have the effect of separating for ever from the communion of our church many who are originally well-disposed to it.

"2do. That, in these circumstances, even putting out of view the particular interests of the Hospital and its revenue, the protesters, acting in the capacity of Governors of the Hospital, have felt it their duty to resist a contract with the Town Council that makes no provision for the building of a church, upon *the same principle*, that, acting in any other case for themselves, or in their individual capacity, they would feel themselves called upon to resist any measure that involved in it a public wrong, even if it were calculated to advance their own particular interest.

"3tio, That, notwithstanding this, the protesters, so far from admitting that their opposition to the contract in its present shape is *against* the particular interest of the Hospital, account it too obvious to be denied, that an assurance of a church upon our ecclesiastical establishment, or of whatever number of churches may require to be built within a reasonable time, upon the grounds appropriated for the intended New Town, would enhance in the opinion of the public the value of the lots of ground to be feued for building, on account of the accommodation that would thereby be afforded to the inhabitants, and consequently to redound materially to the advantage of the Hospital's revenue; and that the want, on the contrary, of a church, or what number of churches might be required, must diminish in another view the value of the building areas to be feued by the Hospital, as it must in all probability occasion the inhabitants of the intended New Town, in common with the inhabitants of Edinburgh at large, to be subjected to the burden of an additional poor's rate. It is well known that the great fund at present for the maintenance of the poor is derived from the weekly collections at the church doors, and these must of necessity fall short by much of what they ought to be, if so many of the wealthiest inhabitants will be discouraged, as they now are, from attending the established churches by the want of accommodation in any church that is situated near to them. This may be looked upon as a light matter in prospect, but if the means of prevention be not employed, it will be felt as a serious grievance, when in all probability it will be incapable of being remedied.

"4to, That the measure the protesters are endeavouring to promote, appears so congenial to the pious spirit of the founder of the Hospital, and the pious design of the foundation, that they consider themselves to be following out what, in the same circumstances, would have been the first wish of his heart, and the first object of his attention;—and, consequently, were they to abandon their endeavour, they would feel themselves unworthy of acting for such a man, and unworthy of the trust that he has reposed in them."

THE CHURCH  
ITS OWN ENEMY,

BEING AN ANSWER TO THE PAMPHLETS OF

THE REV. DR CHALMERS.

PARTICULARLY TO HIS ASPERSIONS ON THE TOWN-COUNCIL

OF EDINBURGH.

SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

BY ADAM BLACK.

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“ Every wise woman buildeth her house, but the foolish plucketh it  
down with her hands.”

PROVERBS.

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ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, EDINBURGH.

M.DCCC.XXXV.





## P R E F A C E.

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THERE is nothing in this controversy that I so much regret, as the personal animosity with which it has unhappily been mixed. Although I have been most unwillingly dragged into it, I trust none of my friends in the Establishment will imagine, that, because I have stated my sentiments decidedly on the nature and tendency of these venerable and crumbling institutions, that I entertain a particle of hostility to any one man because he belongs to them. So far from that, I assure them that their differing with me in opinion on these subjects shall not be suffered on my part to interrupt the harmony of social intercourse, or to prevent my showing them every kindness in my power. Why should we fall out by the way? Our only object should be to arrive at the Truth. Let us search for it earnestly, but candidly, and in a friendly spirit. I am sure I can have no interest in maintaining the sentiments which I have expressed; it would be much more for my interest and peace if I could persuade myself that the opposite views were correct.

While I profess my anxious desire to avoid all cause of irritation, it is not possible to speak of some of the productions on this question in gentle terms, without offending against truth; and I would have avoided alluding to any of them, did I not consider it something like injustice to a fellow Councillor, whose arithmetical accuracy, and rigid regard to facts, has drawn down upon him the wrath of a reverend champion of the Church.

I am not competent to do justice to the eloquent language, the gentleman-like tone, and Christian spirit of the Rev. Patrick Clason. But if he had condescended to write in such a style as individuals in the humble rank of tradesmen might have ventured to cope with, I have no doubt that the Bailie, who lost

no time in demolishing the facts of the Professor of Ecclesiastical History, would soon have given as good an account of this new Defender of the Church.

It is not for me to vindicate the character of Bailie Maclaren from the aspersions of his assailant. He has been some time before the public; and the universal respect which his uncommon talents, his unimpeachable integrity, and his conciliating and unassuming manners, have won for him among his fellow councillors and the public, will only be strengthened by the impotent attempts of detractors.

In the following pages I have stated not only what I believe to be facts, but I have been at considerable pains to verify them before publishing them. If, however, I have inadvertently fallen into any mistakes, I shall readily acknowledge them on their being pointed out to me; for I again repeat that my sole object is to arrive at the truth.

EDINBURGH, *May 1, 1835.*

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*Note to the Second Edition.*

It may be some apology for imperfections and mistakes in the following pages, that they were hurriedly prepared at such fragments of time as could be spared from my proper business, and passed through the press with considerable precipitation. On revising them, I have made a few slight alterations, chiefly verbal corrections, and corrections of the press. I have made the note on the annuity at page 48 more definite; and as I do not wish to claim more merit for the present Town-Council than they are fairly entitled to, I have struck out from page 45, of the First Edition, the lines in which it is stated that they abolished the practice of requiring written petitions from those who wanted seats in the churches, as I find their predecessors had given it up some short time before.

A. B.

EDINBURGH, *May 4, 1835.*

# THE CHURCH

## ITS OWN ENEMY.

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It is with no small reluctance that I appear before the public as a book-maker, for I can assure them, that I greatly prefer being employed as a bookseller. I regret more especially that I must make my first appearance as an author in the character of a controversialist, and, more than all, that I should be opposed to a man whom I should delight to honour, not more for his splendid talents than for his fervent piety, and ardent desire to promote the good of mankind.

It was not an enemy that reproached me, else I could have borne it, but when my conduct and motives are publicly attacked by one whom, not only I but the British public admire and respect, I may be excused for making some small attempt at vindication. The charges are no doubt made against the Town-Council generally, but as my name is specially brought forward, and an additional load of odium heaped upon me, which I am conscious I do not deserve, I hope I shall be forgiven for presuming to enter the field of controversy with so redoubtable a champion as Dr Chalmers; although I know full well that the reputation of his great name will disseminate the charges against me very widely, while few will consider it worth their while to listen to the defence.

As I can make no pretensions to powers of argument or arts of rhetoric, I shall state simply what I have to say in answer to the charges brought against the Town-Council generally, and against myself in particular; and if these should not be considered altogether satisfactory, I hope it may not be too much to hint, that if my cause had had the benefit of Dr Chalmers' eloquent pen, it would have carried conviction to the mind of every honest inquirer.

As what affects an individual always appears to himself the most important, I shall begin with the charges which refer to myself, distinct from the other members of Council.

The first I shall allude to is in reality no charge against me, but a very great honour, which I cannot in justice appropriate. To be the correspondent and influential adviser in matters ecclesiastical of Mr Abercromby, Speaker of the House of Commons, I cannot suppose was stated to exalt me, but there can be as little doubt that it was intended to lower Mr Abercromby in the

estimation of some worthy churchmen ; and, however indignantly the imputation of Toryism, as mingling itself with this question, has been denied, I cannot help suspecting that this little note was intended to injure Mr Abercromby in his political connections. Now the fact is simply this : At the first election of members for the Reformed Parliament, I happened to be appointed Chairman of the Committee for promoting Mr Abercromby's election ; of course, when writing on subjects in which his constituents were concerned, I was, from the accidental circumstance of my position, the natural and official organ with whom he communicated. If my fellow-citizens thought proper to place me in this situation, it was not Mr Abercromby's business to inquire whether I was sound in the faith or not, and till another chairman was appointed, it would not have been in accordance with his usual good sense, so far to question the propriety of the conduct of his constituents in the selection of their chairman, as to have chosen another organ of communication with them. Mr Abercromby is too wise to take any man for his influential adviser on such subjects ; his own sound judgment enables him to form an accurate opinion on matters ecclesiastical as well as civil ; and his integrity and courage have enabled him to maintain a steady and consistent conduct, while many professing reformers have made shipwreck of their characters, amidst the prejudices and bigotry of a chartered church.

I am likewise charged with reproaching the church Establishment of Edinburgh as being of no farther use than to supply sermons to ladies and gentlemen. This is a perversion of my observations, to which I hardly thought Dr Chalmers would have condescended. When we had our ears stunned day by day, with the clamour that the inhabitants should be assessed six per cent. on their rents, that the *poor* might have the gospel preached to them ; and when we were taunted with withholding the rights of the *poor*, I maintained then, as I do still, that all this is a mere waste of words ; for the real fact is, that the sect who wish to lay the burden on their neighbours is the *richest* sect. The poor are to be found in the meeting-houses of the Dissenters ; the ladies and gentlemen fill the churches of the Establishment. I felt indignant that this wealthy class, many of whom refused to contribute a farthing to the support of their own clergy, and insisted on wringing the stipends of their ministers from the poor Catholic in the Cowgate, or the Dissenter who paid for his own minister and chapel, should thus, by a deceptive clamour, impose upon the community, as if they were the only true philanthropists. The friends of justice, who wished to see the poor man relieved from oppressive impositions, are branded as impious defrauders of the poor by those who benefit by the exac-

tions,—much like the wolf upbraiding the lamb for its cruelty and blood-thirsty nature.\*

I proceed now to the graver charge of malignity against the Church of Scotland, which is insinuated if not charged against me, in consequence of my having quoted from a sermon by Mr Binnie of London, which had gone through several editions, that it was the opinion of many Dissenters, that Ecclesiastical Establishments (not the Church of Scotland particularly) had damned more souls than they have saved.

I adduced as an argument in debate against the system of compulsory assessment for the maintenance of Established Churches, that it was the conviction of many conscientious Dissenters, that the money so abstracted was not merely unjustly taken from them, and uselessly expended, but that establishments of religion were absolutely ruinous to the souls of men, and therefore it could not be expected that their opposition would cease. I used this argument in the same way as I would argue that we can never expect the concurrence of Roman Catholics in the support of Protestantism, because they consider it a system of damnable heresy, or the concurrence of Protestants in support of Catholicism, because they consider it little better than idolatry. I might surely refer to the opinions of any class, however outrageous, and argue from these, without making myself responsible for them; and at the very moment the argument was used, it was distinctly stated, and so reported, as referring merely to the expressed opinions of others. I have always wished to avoid the exciting of angry passions and religious rancour, and if in the heat of debate I have used expressions that

\* The Town-Council was particularly opposed by the Session of St Andrews. In order to see who the individuals were, that, under the name of the Session, made such claims to be provided with church accommodation and support for their minister at the expense of the community, I procured the list of their names, which is as follows:

The Lord President.  
Sir Henry Jardine.  
James Jollie, W. S.  
Walter Cook, W. S.  
Andrew Storie, W. S.  
James Hope, W. S.

James Hope, Jun. W. S.  
Andrew Clephane, Advocate.  
George Grant, Advocate.  
John Bonar, Painter.  
Henry Johnston, Surgeon.  
Patrick Borthwick, Banker.

Of these, the first nine pay nothing for the support of their ministers, preferring to have them supported at an annual expense of L. 1100 or L. 1200 by compulsory assessment on others; one of them moved in the Society of Writers to the Signet, that they should oppose the bill proposed by the Magistrates, making them liable to pay their share of their ministers' stipend; another of them seconded the motion; a third spoke in its favour; and all who were present voted for it. The last three pay among them for annuity L. 14; the amount paid by the whole body for seat-rents is only L. 51. Did any church on the New Testament or Voluntary principle contain in its body the same number of equally wealthy individuals, supposing the rest were of the poorest class, such a church would pay handsomely its own minister, and expenses connected with the house, and give assistance to a dozen of poor churches in the Highlands besides.



may unnecessarily have had that effect, I regret it ; for it is my earnest wish to use every man with perfect fairness, and to see every question decided upon its own reasonableness and justice, and not by appealing to the passions and prejudices of others. But when I say that I regret, if I have at any time given encouragement to religious strife, let it not be imagined that I have the smallest intention to disavow or retract one sentiment I uttered, or that I shall endeavour to escape from odium by throwing it on others. When called upon as I now am, I do not hesitate to declare my deliberate opinion, that civil establishments of religion, or the alliance of church and State, have not only not been beneficial, but actually injurious to the temporal and eternal interests of man.

I acknowledge that this is strong language, which some will affect to consider as little short of blasphemy, and many will characterise as at least outrageous, offensive, and revolutionary. But is it true ? No doubt the *respectable* people and the Church and King Men of Judea considered the language of our Lord offensive and revolutionary, and most disrespectful to the Church, when he said “ Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of Heaven against men ; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering, to go in.”

But whence all this delicacy and squeamishness about the words in which the sentiment is clothed ? If an appalling statement is made, it becomes men to inquire into its truth, and not to quarrel with the man who ventures to declare it, or the words in which it is uttered. And here I must premise, that in speaking of the evils of State establishments of religion, there is a wide distinction between the effects which naturally and directly flow from the politico-ecclesiastical system, to which a denomination of Christians has been subjected, (for this state apparatus has been applied to various sects), and the benefits which individuals in these denominations have conferred on the community, in spite of the trammels by which they were enthralled ; in the same way as it was argued that the natural influence of the close and rotten burghs tended to corrupt and enslave, although in spite of them there co-existed with them a considerable portion of freedom and public spirit. When our southern neighbours some years ago spoke of Edinburgh with indignation and contempt, for the manner in which it exercised the elective franchise, intelligent men did not blame the inhabitants, who might individually be ardent friends of liberty, but the debasing policy by which they were trammelled ; so I trust my friends of the Establishment will not conceive that my invectives are directed against the members of any Christian communion, but solely



against that theologico-political system which at the present moment is poisoning the streams of religion on the one hand, and aiding and encouraging the enemies of reform, or as they call themselves the Conservatives or Tories, on the other ; for it is in the very nature of the thing that the kings of the earth and the abettors of despotism should all give their power to the Beast.

I do not seek the destruction of the Church, but the incalculable benefit of both the Episcopal Church of England, and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, when in the glowing words of Dr Chalmers, I say, " It is not because I am indifferent to the good of Protestantism that I want to displace these artificial crutches from under her—but because I want that, freed from every symptom of decrepitude and decay, she should stand forth in her own native strength, and make manifest to all men how firm a support she has on the goodness of her cause, and on the basis of her orderly and well laid arguments.—It is because I count so much—(and will any Protestant here present say that I count too much ?)—on her Bible, and her Evidences, and the blessing of God upon her churches, and the force of her resistless appeals to the conscience and the understandings of men ; it is because of her strength and sufficiency in these that I would disclaim the aids of the statute-book, and own no dependence or obligation whatever on a system of intolerance.—These were enough for her in the days of her suffering, and should be more than enough for her in the days of her comparative safety."\*

I must likewise premise, that, in arguing on Church establishments, I must speak of them *as they really are*, not of any imaginary Utopian scheme, which never existed but in the brain of some weak, but well-meaning enthusiast. We judge of despotism by the generally baleful effects it has had on the world, not by what it might be, if administered by a wise, and benignant, and paternal Sovereign. It would be easy to imagine the peace, the prosperity, and the might of a country, under the unlimited sway of one directing mind, endowed with a capacity to discern what was best fitted to promote the general happiness, and armed with full power to enforce the regulations and the laws which it promulgated for this beneficent end. There have been instances of such wise and beneficent despots, but they are very rare exceptions to the rule, for it is in the essence of despotism to corrupt ; where men have acted otherwise, it has been in spite of the natural tendency of a principle unfitted for the nature of man.

We have already had the experience of 1500 years of civil establishments of religion. Too long have they been developing their odious character and tendency ; they now stand forth strongly marked, and distinctly defined. I must, therefore, once for all protest against being called upon to contend with a

\* Dr Chalmers's Speech on the Roman Catholic Claims, 14th March 1829.

phantom, varying in form and hue, according to the imagination of the dreamer, while the veritable substance of the culprit is before us.

In arraiging civil establishments of religion, as exhibited in the experience of all ages, the crimes with which they are chargeable are unhappily so numerous and extensive, that it would occupy too much space to attempt anything like a detail. I must merely glance at their effects in former ages, and in other lands; and as Christians generally in this country will give up without a show of defence the religious establishments of former times, and Catholic countries, I shall confine myself principally to the Establishments of England and Scotland, more particularly to the latter. Dr Chalmers, with the churchmen of Scotland generally, consider the Scottish Establishment as the purest and the best in existence, and its necessity and advantage as best illustrated, in its adaptation to the necessities and destitution of poor and thinly-peopled districts, such as the Highlands. I shall endeavour to prove that the Scottish Establishment, even in those districts which are supposed most conspicuously to exhibit the necessity for a system of religion provided by the State, is not only useless, but that it absolutely frustrates the object in view; and if I am able to prove that even the stronghold of establishments is indefensible, then the outworks may be surrendered at discretion.

For centuries the establishment of Christianity in the Eastern Empire, rent, and ultimately ruined the State by the most violent tumults, occasioned by the shameless and bloody contests of sects and parties for the ascendancy. Multitudes were banished, imprisoned, and put to death, as each succeeding Emperor espoused the cause of one party or another, in the bloody contests for the dignities and emoluments of the Church.

"We may form some notion of the Greek Patriarchs, (says Mosheim,) from the single example of Theophilus, who, according to the testimonies of the most respectable writers, made the most impious traffic of ecclesiastical promotions, and expressed no sort of care about anything but his dogs and horses. Degenerate, however, and licentious as these patriarchs might be, they were, generally speaking, less profligate and indecent than the Roman Pontiffs."

Need I allude to the Papal establishments, to the constant and fiery persecutions which they maintained over all Europe; to the extirpation of the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont; to the terrific reign of the Inquisition in Spain; to the wars of religion which desolated France; to the massacre of St Bartholomew; to the persecutions and political disturbances in Germany; and to the persecutions in England and Scotland?

Let it be remembered, that, unless the State had been in al-

liance with the Church, it is impossible that these atrocities could have been perpetrated ; but by virtue of their mutual compact, the Church employed the arm of the state to enslave the minds of men in base subjection to the priesthood, and the priesthood returned the compliment to the state by riveting the chains of political despotism on the people.

But I presume Protestants will generally acknowledge that the establishment of the Catholic religion is not to be defended in any case ; they say that it is only the *True Religion*, of course meaning their own, that is to be established. I must then be allowed a little more space to prove, that such is the inherent vice of civil establishments of religion, that even the True Religion, when in union with the State, is adulterated by the poisonous admixture ; and that, instead of acquiring strength and efficiency from the union, it is enfeebled and fettered, and too often lies as an obstacle and obstruction in the way of the genuine and unadulterated principle.

Let us first, then, examine the Church Establishment of England. In England, the Popish establishment was a persecuting church, and it cannot be denied that the Protestant establishment has earned for itself an unenviable distinction in the same walk of crime. In short, there is no system of religious opinions, when once established by the State, which has not availed itself of its possession of power to persecute others. Even the sect of the Independents, when they acquired a kind of paltry establishment in America, could not resist the vice inseparable from state alliance, although in direct opposition to the essential principles of their creed. But you will say it is of no use referring to past times ; the establishment of England is now purified from these abominations, and is now a beneficial engine of moral and religious instruction.

Whatever others may say, I take for granted that Dr Chalmers, and those who hold his views of Christianity, will maintain, that those who preach any other gospel than the peculiar doctrines of the Cross, commonly called Evangelical, are not only inefficient, but pernicious ; for the example of their lives and the influence of their doctrines tend to extinguish vital Christianity, and lull their hearers in a fatal security.

It may be said that such men are better than none. I think Dr Chalmers will not say so ; but does it follow that there would be none ? Were these cumberers of the ground removed, it would not be long before their places were supplied by faithful men ; and even should the ranks be thinned by the withdrawal of the lukewarm, the cowardly, and the treacherous, the army of the living God would only be the more powerful and efficient. Still,

however, it may be said the number of such men as you allude to must be small, and every day diminishing.

To bring sweeping charges against classes of individuals is odious, and it is very difficult to prove them; and if I were to say that those who preach the gospel in the English Establishment, and manifest it in their lives, are a small minority of the body, whatever might be the notorious fact, I should be treated as a calumnious libeller, and called upon for proof, the indignant objector all the time conceiving himself as safe as the admirers of the abolished system of rotten burghs, who, while they were regularly bought and sold in the market, would threaten to prosecute any man who would venture to question their purity.

In this case, however, I propose to apply a very simple test, which will at least not involve *me* in the charge of calumny, while I think it should be pretty satisfactory to any honest inquirer.

I propose to take the testimony of a distinguished minister of the Church of England, a man well qualified to judge, and remarkable for his candour and fearless honesty, and to take evidence given without the smallest intention of being used either on the one side or the other of this question. Mr Scott, the author of the *Commentary on the Bible*, has given a candid account of his life, and his son has published several of his letters; I propose, then, to take his description of that portion of his own body which came under his immediate observation, as given by himself and his son. If these are generally found to be pious zealous ministers, then I can draw no argument from this against establishments; if, on the contrary, a considerable portion of them are ignorant of the gospel themselves, blind leaders of the blind, I am warranted to assume that those we do not hear of, resemble those whose characters are given, and I conclude, that the system which produces and tolerates this is essentially bad. The experience of Scott may be taken as a fair sample of the stock.

My first extract is from the *Life* by his son, p. 35, his letter to his sisters on the occasion of his taking priest's orders, giving an account of those who entered the ministry along with him, which furnishes the melancholy proof, that the endowments of the Established Church attract a crowd of openly profane persons into the holy office of the ministry, and that they would sign any 939, as easily as they would sign any 39 articles, to attain their object.

*Extracts from the Life of the Rev. Thomas Scott.*

“*Buckden, September 20, 1772.*—Dear Sisters,—Success is always agreeable: though there is a success that would have been mortifying; but mine is of the most agreeable sort. Compliments, high

compliments, from both Dr Gordon and my fellow candidates. As I have a little time to spare, I shall endeavour to give you a sketch of my companions here. The first I shall mention is a Scotchman, a man of parts. To a sound judgment he joins a most ready wit, and an agreeable affability. He tells a story in his Scotch dialect in the most humorous manner imaginable. He is equally qualified for serious or literary conversation, and I have contracted something of an intimacy with him. His fault is, that he is too sensible of his own abilities. The next is a most solemn ignoramus; a member of the university; who knows just as much Latin as I did when I had been two years at Scorton. He is in deacon's orders, so, in solemn consultation, we made a theme for him, and, as he is a man that bears a good character, Dr G., I believe, knowingly overlooked it. Had we not assisted him, it would have gone nigh to have killed him. The third is a methodistical gentleman. He forms a very good contrast to some of the company; they being too gay for their business, he so sanctified, that a song, a game at cards, or a joke, is to him a most capital offence. This I could overlook, but his opinions are not mine; and I had a duel with him on my first arrival, concerning justification by faith alone. I believe each claimed the palm of victory; I, however, had the audience on my side.—A fourth is a good-natured harmless person, no university man, who is easily pleased, and endeavours to please those about him, so I think I ought to have placed him a little higher in my list.—The next is of the same class, but a less able person.—The remainder are Oxonian and Cantabrigian bucks, who know more of the wine and the girls of their respective universities, and of setting-dogs, race-horses, and guns in the country, than of Latin and Greek, or divinity. The archdeacon sweated two of them pretty well; but I believe they must pass muster. In the examination I did what I wish undone,—I assisted one of them in his theme, both with thoughts and Latin, whom I have since found to be very unfit for what he is going to undertake; and, without assistance, I am certain he would not have succeeded.—You must excuse my vanity; at the present I cannot avoid it.—You may depend on the sincerity of my prayers and good wishes for you all, and that I am your affectionate brother, THOMAS SCOTT.”—P. 36, Chap. ii.

“The Force of Truth,” he now observes in his narrative, “sufficiently explains the state of my heart and my conduct, as it must have appeared in the sight of God, in this most solemn concern of my ordination; and it suffices here to say, that, considering in all respects, I deliberately judge this whole transaction to have been the most atrocious wickedness of my life. But I did not, at the time, in any degree regard it in this light; nor did I, till long after, feel any remorse of conscience for my prevaricating, if not directly lying, subscriptions, and declarations, and all the evil of my motives and actions in the whole concern.”

Till his removal to London, the only pious clergymen he seems to have met with was the late excellent John Newton of



Olney, the friend and correspondent of Cowper.—Of the vicar whom he served as curate, he says,—

“ My vicar at Ravenstone, in proportion as I became more decided in my views, and especially more instant in preaching, increasing the length, as well as the frequency, of my sermons, both of his own instance, and as excited by others, showed more marked opposition to my proceedings.”—P. 127.

“ He observed, that, for his own part, when he was ordained, he had written fifty-four or fifty-five sermons, and they had served him very well ever since, though he had been above fifty years in orders.”—P. 128.

I had marked other passages to extract; but materials have accumulated so much on my hand, that I must confine myself in this branch, to two extracts from the *Christian Observer*,—a periodical edited by pious and intelligent members of the Church of England.

The first demonstrates the impossibility of maintaining discipline in the church. The second is a melancholy but most complete illustration of the truth of my charge. The Bishop of Landaff ■ few years ago, with the view of introducing important reforms into his diocese, previously procured from each of his clergy reports of the existing state of his parish in regard to education, church attendance, &c.

We have heard a great deal about the innate feebleness and inefficiency of the Voluntary system; here is a specimen of the endowment system on a large scale. Some will say that my witnesses only prove what was never denied; that there are bad men in the Established denominations, as in every other. But a candid inquirer will perceive that they prove a great deal more; if they state what is true, then the evils which they reprobate and deplore, are traced as distinctly and naturally flowing from the State Establishments of religion; and let it be observed, that I rest my case on the testimony not of men hostile to establishments, but of men biassed in their favour, and interested in their support. The following extracts show the spirit, temper, and unavoidable tendency of the system, which has shed its baleful influence on the individuals whom it has employed, and the community which it has controlled.

*Extract from the Christian Observer, August 1827, p. 472.*

“ But no one, I am convinced, can read the slight and delicate allusions made by the Noble Earl, without suspecting there must be something very deficient, both in the discipline of our church, and in that ecclesiastical code which should give strength and efficiency to the mandates of her ruling authorities. My fearful anticipations were in a great measure realized, by finding that the Bishop of Lincoln stated unequivocally, ‘ That the parish of Long Sutton, within his Lordship’s diocese, had long been deprived of the bene-



fits of religious worship, and was in a state scarcely less deplorable than that of a heathen country.' I must here observe, among the confirmations I have received, that many of the laws which should regulate our ecclesiastical concerns are obstructed by the rubbish and abuses of modern times, and that the discipline of our church is much too feeble, and obviously defective."

The following testimony respecting the state of things in the English Church, which is from the pen of one of her own ministers, the Rev. D. Nicholl, A. M. curate of Yoxall, author of "A Solemn Appeal on Behalf of the Church of England," 1830, is to the same effect, and it is only a very small portion of what his book contains on this head.

"I think it important to remark, with respect even to that portion (of the clergy) who are truly pious, that the present state of our ecclesiastical system is calculated, not to call forth their zeal but to repress it." p. 37. "Offences, however atrocious in the sight of God, however scandalous to the church, may, so far as her discipline is concerned, be committed with perfect impunity. If you desire any practical exhibition of the communion of saints you must seek it elsewhere than in the congregations of the establishment." p. 58. The following admission, coming as it does from an adherent and advocate of a Church Establishment is worthy of notice.

"The extra ecclesiastical societies (*i. e.* Dissenting churches) and proceedings . . . . are honoured as the chief means of raising the tone of our doctrine and the zeal of our ministry; and it is impossible they should be so considered, without drawing away the eyes of the people from the church." P. 40.

From the returns made to the Bishop of Landaff, his diocese appears to contain 150,000 souls, which are apportioned out into 234 parishes, or 641 individuals for each parish.

The State has actually made provision here for Dr Chalmers's *beau ideal* of a parish system; and what is the result? First, that 137 of the ministers do not reside in their parishes; second, that only 97 do reside. In each parish there are on an average 641 inhabitants, of these 82 attend the church, and 31 are communicants. But, taking only the 97 resident clergy, there are for each 1753 individuals, of these the average number of attendants on each is 197, and communicants 42.

If the proofs here adduced are not sufficient to convince any one of the wretched inefficiency, the gross misappropriation of the public property, and the ruinous consequences of an endowed church, such sceptics will require something else than evidence to convince them.

*From Christian Observer, December 1827, p. 760.*

"There are only ninety-seven parishes with a resident minister, either incumbent or curate, while one hundred and thirty-seven are destitute of this benefit. We cannot but tremble for the Church,

and mourn over the neglected souls of her professed members, while we peruse such statements.

“ But the most injurious pluralities in the diocese of Landaff are not those of benefices but of curacies. His Lordship had therefore matured a plan, as far as possible to have two Sunday services in every church, and to allow of no clergyman's supplying more than two parishes. He also recommends, in such cases, a week-day service.

“ His Lordship laments the small number of the congregations and communicants in many of the parishes. In three parishes, containing 936 souls, there are only twenty-two communicants and fifty attendants at church. In other places the average congregation is scarcely a fortieth of the population. In a diocese containing 150,000 souls, the communicants are reported at only 4134, and the church goes at 19,169. The clergy, in their answers to the queries, ascribe this defect mainly to ‘ The activity of the Dissenters, or the indifference of the people to all religion.’ But whose fault is this? His Lordship affectionately, yet plainly impresses on his clergy, that, if the Dissenters are more active than themselves, the blame and the punishment will be theirs, and that in such a case the friends of religion must rejoice, that, notwithstanding every way ‘ Christ is preached,’ and the souls of men are not left utterly to perish in ignorance and irreligion.”

If I had been anxious to indulge in indignant declamation, the Church of England, as exhibited in her acts and deeds, from the persecutions of the Presbyterians in Scotland and the Non-conformists in England, till the massacre of Rathcormac in Ireland, would have afforded abundant scope. Many of her sons, in spite of the paralyzing worldly system in which they were placed, have exhibited the Christian character in all its loveliness and power, which the surrounding gloom has only brought out with a brighter radiance; but as an ecclesiastical establishment, as a piece of State policy, its general conduct towards the objects of its pretended charge has been marked with arrogance and oppression. Yet though her sins of commission be flagrant, though she as well as her mother has drunk the blood of the Saints, yet her sins of omission have spread a wider desolation, a deadlier influence of ungodliness over the land. Although the number of her zealous and exemplary pastors has greatly increased within these few years, yet the list of her non-resident clergymen unfolds a state of pastoral superintendence that is absolutely disgraceful; and of those who are resident, the number that preach another gospel, a system deluding men to their own destruction, will be indicated by the recorded experience of the Rev. Mr Scott and many others.\*

\* “ The present state of the Church Establishment of England is indicated by two official documents which have been laid before Parliament. By an abstract of the non-resident incumbents and resident incumbents, laid before the House of Lords for the

The endowments of the Church of Scotland are not so numerous nor so ample, and therefore the injuries proceeding from them may naturally be expected to be mitigated, in proportion to the diminished power of the corrupting principle. That the fruits of both are the same, though somewhat less rank and luxuriant in the north than in the south, I shall endeavour to prove by similar evidence in both cases; by the testimony of ministers of the Scottish Establishment, and by the recorded acts of her church courts; and the evidence which I shall adduce will not be such as merely bears upon individual character. I could have brought forward instances of great moral depravity, but my object was not to vilify, but to ascertain and exhibit the constitutional spirit and tendency of the system of which the individuals form a part. It will not do to say that specific cases, or worse, may be discovered among Christians acting on the Voluntary plan, unless those specific cases are of such a nature as show that the evil flows from the system and not from the men.

I first adduce two witnesses that ought to be unexceptionable in this cause, the late Rev. Mr Stewart of Moulin, and the Rev. Mr Sieveright of Markinch, both most respectable and pious ministers of the Church of Scotland. The evidence is given in the biography of the former, as written by the latter. Mr Stewart nearly resembles, in the circumstances of his life, the Rev. Mr Scott, whose evidence we have taken in regard to the Church of England. Both entered the ministry from improper motives, and destitute of what was essential to the character of a minister of the gospel; both signed the formulas of their respective churches, and professed their belief in doctrines to which they were in heart opposed; both for a season preached to their people, while they were themselves ignorant of the truth, and destitute of real godliness; both were unobjected to by their brethren on the ground of ignorance of the truth and want of piety; both were converted to the orthodox Christian faith, after having for years lulled their flocks in lifeless formality, and

year 1812, it appears, that at this time there appertain to our Church Establishment 10,582 benefices, including 133 dignities; that of these 5100 are non-resident, and 5482 are resident. That of these 1964 reside on other benefices; 382 are infirm; and 1120 want a parsonage house. The non-residents without leave, are 746, of whom there are 221 in St David's, and 93 in Exeter. The dioceses, in regard to their size, contain Lincoln, 1252 benefices, Norwich, 1080, York, 830; Litchfield, 677; Exeter, 610, London and Chester respectively, 586 and 585, the other fewer, and Rochester but 107. In Carlisle, Chester, London, Peterborough, and York, the residents exceed the non-residents; and in Bristol they are 131 each, but the non-residents are to the residents in St David's nearly as 8 to 1; in Bangor as 4 to 1, and in Llandaff as 7 to 1; owing, as may be supposed, to the poverty of the benefices; though in Litchfield and Lincoln they are also as 2 to 1. By another of these interesting documents, made up to January 1st 1813, it appears that (Ely excepted) there were 3926 curates, 59 of whom receive but L. 10, per annum; 217, but L. 20; 679, L. 30; 683, L. 40; 517, L. 50; 1001, from L. 60 to L. 100; and only 40 above L. 100."—*Christian Instructor*, Aug. 1814, pp. 130, 131.

deluded them with false doctrine; both became objects of suspicion and dislike to the majority of their brethren, and were considered as singular persons when they became faithful preachers of the Gospel themselves, and zealous promoters of the means that were used by others for the general dissemination of knowledge and truth; in both we have the evidence that the ministers of the Establishment generally resembled them in the features of their original character; but when that character was changed from a cold, lifeless form of godliness, to the reality of pious zeal and devoted exertion, then they were men wondered at, shunned, and suspected.

Mr Stewart gives this account of his own character when he entered on the ministry, and for some years afterwards:

“ I was in a great measure ignorant of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, the corruption of the human will, the fulness and freeness of the redemption which is in Christ, justification by faith, and the necessity of the holy spirit’s agency and the human soul; and what I knew not myself, I could not declare to others. I never thought of praying for divine direction in my search after divine truth. I believe I had read the Confession of Faith of our church before I declared my belief of its contents; but I had taken little pains to compare it with the Scriptures. I certainly did not distinctly understand, nor was I at all persuaded of the truth of many propositions contained in it. Yet I do not remember that I had any scruples about subscribing it as the confession of my faith, or about declaring my assent to it solemnly, in the presence of that congregation whereof I was about to take the pastoral charge.”—Pp. 32, and 33.

The following extract shows the manner in which his ministerial duties were attended to:

“ I was quite well pleased when a diet of catechising was ill attended, because my work was the sooner over; and I was always satisfied with the reflection, that if people were not able, or did not choose to attend on these occasions, that was no fault of mine. I well remember, that I often hurried over that exercise with a good deal of impatience, that I might get home to join a dancing party, or read a sentimental novel.”—P. 31.

The following extracts will prove, that the ministers of country parishes are connected in as unhappy a union with the gentry, as the ministers of burghs with the town-councils, and that the business never will be well-managed till the connexion is dissolved.

“ It may be proper, in this place, to advert to the manner in which he acted in his ministerial capacity towards a class of his parishioners, with which, in general, it is very difficult to deal faithfully, without provoking an enmity that may obstruct one’s usefulness to his people in matters of secular and public concern. It is *heri-*

tors we mean, who, when openly irreligious, are not likely to strengthen a serious minister's hands in the work of his office. This it were unreasonable to expect, nor has any man just cause to complain of not finding it so. But what affords a ground for reasonable complaint in such cases is, that if they nominally belong to the Established church, they judge themselves exempt from all jurisdiction as to religious character, and resent the refusal of privileges as a personal injury."—P. 171.

Mr Stewart complained to his masters, the *heritors*, against the desecration of the Lord's day, and the public services of the Sanctuary, by being obliged to submit to have the desk, before the worshipping assembly was dismissed, converted into something like a public drum for advertising sales of stock, orders to pay taxes, &c.

"So little respect is paid to the Lord's day and service by the public authorities, that sometimes, on our pronouncing the valedictory blessing on the congregation, the sound has hardly ceased to vibrate on the serious ear, when every feeling of duty and propriety is outraged, by the sudden eruption, from the precentor's desk, of an official mandate to pay taxes, under penalty, at time and place prescribed."—P. 180.

Mr Stewart memorialised the *heritors*, that this profanation might cease, and that more appropriate means might be adopted for advertising. His biographer says,

"After two months' deliberation on this memorial, the *heritors*, to whom it was submitted, sent word to Mr Stewart. 'We all concur in one sentiment, that proclamations shall continue to be made in the same manner as at present.'"—P. 184.\*

The following extract proves, that, after his conversion to the truth, when he manifested his zeal for the improvement of his own flock, and for the advancement of Christianity in his neighbourhood, so far from the other clergymen of the church hailing with delight the altered conduct and the pious exertions of their brother, they could not avoid showing their hatred of the change; for Mr S. evidently felt that he was generally sent to Coventry by

\* The objection to the New Testament or Voluntary system, because of its bringing the pastors too much under the influence of their flock, comes with a peculiarly bad grace from those who are obliged to submit to the commands of their superiors, even though they should appear to be in direct violation of the law of God. The melancholy state of bondage under which the Church of Scotland is subjected to *heritors* and patrons will further appear from the following extract from the Christian Instructor, June 1820:

"Tuesday, May 23. The Assembly being constituted, &c. they took up the case of Mr Macpherson, late minister of Golspie. So far as the facts of this case appeared upon the record, the following narrative of them may be considered as correct. Mr Macpherson, after being some years minister of Golspie, conceived that he had given offence to the Stafford family, (his patrons) and that he could not fulfil the duties of his parish according to his views of their importance and extent, formed a resolution to resign his charge."—Christian Instructor, Vol. xix. p. 365.



his brethren of the presbytery. The following is an extract from a letter to one of them, who, condescendingly, had not withdrawn his friendship from him, on account of his zeal in his Master's cause, which was shown by his encouraging some of the pious missionaries, who, on the voluntary principle, were preaching the gospel in the more destitute places of the Highlands, but who were looked on as intruders by the men who considered it their exclusive province, either to teach the people, or let them die in ignorance as they pleased. Poor Mr Stewart was sadly cramped in his exertions by the fear of his brethren, his *heritors*, and patrons.

"I have long been desirous to explain myself on this subject, wherever I thought I might not be misunderstood, especially to you, in whose candour I have the fullest confidence, and from whom I have experienced much kindness, and unwearied civility. I cannot but regret, that the peculiar circumstances in which I have been placed, have given occasion to any person to hold me up as a contrast to the neighbouring clergymen, and made me almost an eye-sore to my brethren. Indeed I have, for a considerable time past, reckoned myself much indebted to the forbearance and delicacy of my co-presbyters, in not taking me roundly to task, for giving such countenance to men they considered as actuated by the most unfriendly intentions. Perhaps I am not mistaken in supposing, that you in particular, may have incurred reprehension from some of your acquaintance, for continuing to treat as a friend and intimate, one who had become such an apostate. I assure you, my dear Sir, I feel my obligations to you on this account."—Pp. 195, 196.

Of the lamentable state of the Established churches in regard to pastoral teaching and superintendence, Mr Sieveright, a minister of the Church of Scotland, in the following passage, speaks as clearly as he dares, and his language, when plainly interpreted, agrees with mine, that the system of endowments, as connected with parochial charges, has lowered the religious character, and introduced what is contrary to the appointment of God. After alluding to the ungodliness of the pastors, and the destitute state of the people in the parishes in Mr Stewart's neighbourhood, he says,—

"Perhaps not a few parishes in Britain, who rise no higher in point of religious character than they, labour under greater disadvantages as to means of instruction; such means, however, proved ineffectual there, and must in every place alike fail, because they are not the means appointed by God for reconciling the world into himself, that they may be saved."—P. 38.

And further on he informs us, that the people, when deprived of the benefit of gospel preaching, either sought for it among the Dissenters, or wandered to the nearest Established church,



however distant that might lie; the bulk of the parish ministers were irritated against the people, and shewed no pity to the offending Evangelical ministers. Is it to be wondered at that the community has become a mass of heathenism?

“In this case, the only resource left to those who earnestly desired to be edified under a gospel ministry was, either to join a Dissenting congregation, or to become the stated hearers of an Evangelical minister, wherever they could find one, in the Established church. The former mode was often out of their power, for there are few dissenting churches in these northern counties, and the people are too poor to maintain them. As they are cordially attached to the Established Church, they greatly preferred attending a faithful parish minister, though under the inconvenience of travelling many miles to hear him. Accordingly, it was no uncommon thing for persons to leave their own parishes, and go from ten to fifteen miles on a Sunday morning to church, and return in the evening. Our *moderate* brethren, jealous of the popularity of some of their neighbours, and irritated against their own people, took their measures, and obtained the sanction of our most Venerable Assembly to a rule, subjecting to the heaviest censures all who should be guilty of the horrid schism of withdrawing from their parish church, and hearing sermons regularly in a neighbouring church.”—(Pp. 255, 256.)—“A watchful eye is kept on the conduct of the popular clergy to detect any infraction of the established order, and where found, no pity is showed to the offender.”—P. 258.

The following account of the proceedings of the General Assembly, as extracted from the Edinburgh Magazine for June 1818, p. 583, will show that Mr Stewart was not the only man who suffered for endeavouring to spread the knowledge of the Gospel in the destitute and benighted quarters of the Highlands; and that the Established Church of Scotland is chargeable not only with the guilt of neglecting the eternal interest of souls entrusted to their charge, but of positively hindering those who would have instructed them in the way of salvation; and that the criminality is chargeable, not against individuals, but against Presbyteries, and the General Assembly;—in short, against the Church as a Church.

“On the 30th, the Assembly took into consideration, extract minutes of the Presbyteries of Strathbogie and Aberlour, referring to them the conduct of Mr John M'Donald, minister of Urquhart, in preaching in other parishes than his own, within the bounds of the above presbyteries. Mr Cruickshanks, a member of the Presbytery of Strathbogie, was heard in support of the reference, and Mr M'Donald in explanation. After long reasoning, a motion was made and seconded, that, ‘having considered the references, the Assembly declare, that the performance of divine service, or of any part of public worship or service by ministers of this church, in

meeting-houses of Dissenters, is irregular and unconstitutional, and ought on no occasion to take place, except in cases in which, from the peculiar circumstances of a parish, its minister may find it occasionally necessary for conducting the ordinary religious instruction of his people; and the Assembly further declare, that the conduct of any minister of the Church who exercises his pastoral functions in a vagrant manner, preaching, during his journeys from place to place, in the open air, in other parishes than his own, or officiating in any meeting for religious exercises, without the special invitation of the minister within whose parish it shall be held, and by whom such meetings shall be called, is disorderly, and unbecoming the character of a minister of this church, and calculated to weaken the hands of the minister of the parish, and to injure the interests of sound religion; and the Assembly enjoin Presbyteries to take order that *no countenance be given by ministers within their bounds to such occasional meetings proposed to be held for Divine service, or other pious purposes*, as may, under the pretext of promoting religion, so injure its interests, and so disturb the peace and order of the church; and in case of such meetings taking place, the Presbyteries within whose bounds they are held, are enjoined to report the same to the meeting of the General Assembly next ensuing."

The following extract is from a Report on the State of the Highlands, published by a committee of the United Secession Church in 1820; but as this body may be suspected of being unfavourable to the Church, I do not rest my case on their evidence.

"After giving an affecting description of the low state of religion and morals in some Highland districts, a respected correspondent adds:—'Need we be astonished at this, when the clergy act no better a part than the people.' After stating a number of facts, he goes on: 'This may appear to some incredible, but it is a lamentable truth, which could be proved by many witnesses; and what baneful effects must such conduct produce on the mind of ignorant people? I am sorry to say, that most of the county of —— is in a similar state.'—'I have visited,' says another correspondent 'some parts of A—— every summer for ten years; and yearly do I see that there remaineth much land to be possessed. Faithful labourers are indeed very few. In many parishes the glad sound of Salvation, through the atoning sacrifice of Jesus, is not heard, except by means of an occasional visit from an itinerant, which, by many of the clergy in particular, is viewed as intrusive, unnecessary, and highly injurious, and hence vehemently opposed."

In my investigation into this subject, materials have accumulated so much on my hands, that I am constrained to leave out much that would bear upon the same point. I could have gone farther back into the misdeeds of the General Assembly, and the transactions of earlier times, as stamping the character of

the Established Church of Scotland. But readers of the present day would not have patience to go into such details ; I have therefore confined myself to what proves the actual state of our boasted establishment as it at present exists, and to show that the system of iniquity is still working in all its force. I republish in an appendix a letter to the Rev. Dr David Dickson, the Rev. Henry Grey, and the Rev. John M'Alister, by the Rev. Angus M'Laine, parish minister at Ardnamurchan, which appeared in the Caledonian Mercury, November 12, 1832, which proves that the endowed ministers, not merely a few exceptions among them, but in presbyteries, and the Established clergy as a body, are still labouring zealously to hinder the dissemination of the truths of the Gospel, and throwing every obstacle in the way of the missionaries and schoolmasters, who would otherwise communicate to these destitute districts " that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation." And the letter of this same Rev. John M'Alister fully corroborates what might otherwise have been doubted. To these letters, in connection with the other evidence, I particularly invite the attention of the reader.

I have heard some of the pious, intelligent, and truly Christian teachers, who have laboured in these destitute districts, in the face of all the opposition of these Proconsuls of parishes, who consider as an usurper every one who ventures to teach the ignorant within his domain,—I have heard from these men the fearful accounts of opposition given to the spread of the Gospel by the endowed ministers of the establishment, who warn faithful preachers as poachers off their preserves,—but I would not have ventured to produce it as evidence. Here, however, is an accumulation of evidence,—of evidence that must be undoubted, being published by the ministers of the Established Church of Scotland themselves ; evidence that ought to convince any candid inquirer of the pernicious tendency of civil establishments of religion.

I have heard it said, that a Church Establishment may not be required in towns or well-peopled districts, but that it is necessary for such destitute places as the Highlands. Let those who say this divest their minds of mere speculative theories, and look at the actual working of the system, and the delusion will soon be dispelled.

I think the evidence adduced should convince any unprejudiced mind that the effect of State Endowments of religion has been to attract to the sacred office many, if not a majority, of ministers, uninfluenced by religious principle.

2d, That, by removing those motives to exertion which human nature requires, they encourage sloth and neglect of duties.

3d, That those who have been faithful to their charge, and zealous for the promotion of the truth, have been fettered and oppressed through the jealousy and clamour of that portion of the clergy, who felt disturbed by the over-zealous exertions of brethren in their neighbourhood, which they consider as troubling the peace and order of the church.

4th, That to prevent this disturbance of the peace and order of the Church, the General Assembly, which of course represents the feelings and character of the Established church of Scotland, have passed a law by which they enjoin Presbyteries to take order, that no countenance be given by ministers within their bounds to such occasional meetings proposed to be held for Divine service, or other pious purposes, under the pretext of promoting religion.

5th, That the effect of this Establishment is not only to encourage indolence and carelessness in the indifferent, but systematically to discourage and restrain the exertions of the faithful and zealous, and thus, instead of promoting the cause of knowledge and virtue, to perpetuate ignorance and vice.

I have confined my investigations to the thinly-peopled and destitute districts. Dr Chalmers has eloquently described the effect of the Establishment on the dense population of our towns, as reducing it to a mass of heathenism.

If these things be so, will any man venture to say, that I have used, or can use too strong language in reprobation of the system that produces them.

In this long argument I have referred only to the evils of a moral and religious nature, inflicted on the country by the Established Church; but it would be easy to show that its influence on the civil concerns of the country has been equally injurious; That it is mainly this Church which has engendered and fostered the discontent, the outrage, and the contests which have distracted and debased Ireland: That in England the powerful clerical host, with a few honourable exceptions, have been the steadiest abettors of every despotic measure, and the most uncompromising enemies of all reform. At the present moment, the Tories in Devonshire rest their hopes of ejecting Lord John Russell from Devonshire, on the numerous political anti-reforming parsons of the county.

In Scotland, and in Edinburgh particularly, the Established clergy ranged themselves under the banners of the Dundases, the Braxfields, and the Holy Alliance men of former days; and in the late struggles of the people for the attainment of their political rights, the Established clergy have been their steadiest opponents. In the elections for Members of Parliament under that charter of their liberties which the clergy did all in their



power to withhold from the people, the Ministers of the Establishment, have either not voted at all, or voted for anti-reformers.

This long preliminary, but to my mind most important detail, may not be altogether irrelevant, as bearing upon the question of the Parish System so eloquently advocated by Dr Chalmers; for it establishes, that this same Parish System has been found in practice, not only utterly futile, but absolutely pernicious.

It must be acknowledged, when it is painted in the glowing language of the Reverend Doctor, and urged with the ardour of his benevolence and sanguine anticipation of success, it appears captivating to the generous mind; but, alas, like the mirage in the desert, it is a gorgeous but a shadowy prospect, for, on a closer inspection, the fancied domes, and temples, and turrets, all vanish into the thinnest air. Let us descend from the lofty eminence of fancy to the plain sobrieties of experience, and inspect accurately the facts of the case. That benevolent but absurd enthusiast, Owen, by means of his co-operative societies, all working under a regulated plan, in certain districts which he called parallelograms, promised to banish vice, and spread universal happiness through the world; but his system was in the political what Dr Chalmers' is in the religious world, at utter variance with the constitution of our nature, and could only end in the mortification and distress of the unhappy schemer and his followers.

Let us suppose Edinburgh, which by the last census contains 136,054 inhabitants, divided into parishes, each containing 2000 inhabitants, (Dr C. says 600 would be much better,) we should then have 68 parish churches, or, if we were to come to his *beau ideal* of 600 to a parish, we should then have 280 parishes and ministers. Think of this ye grumbling annuity payers, who grudge L. 600 a-year to each of a complement of 18 ministers, and be thankful that you have not billeted on you a company of 68, at a yearly expenditure for stipend alone of L. 40,800, or, on the better plan, a regiment of 280, at the yearly expenditure for stipend of L. 168,000.\* But let us suppose

\* The police rental of the entire city, including all the districts without the Royalty, is L. 406,655, consequently, the city, being divided into parishes of 2000 each, the annuity tax would be only  $10\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. At the rate of 600 to a parish the tax would be  $41\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. It will also be very consolatory to reflect, that, on the authority of the Doctor, new churches may be built for L. 3000 each. There being fifteen endowed churches in the city and suburbs already, only fifty-three new churches would be required, according to the plan of dividing the city into parishes of 2000 inhabitants, which we are assured is the very largest number which it is possible for one minister to overtake; and, according to the improved plan of parishes containing 600 inhabitants, 265 new churches would be sufficient. In the former case, the cost to the city would be only L. 159,000, and in the latter case L. 795,000. But as the churches would not require to be so large in the event of the latter plan being preferred, it is probable they might be erected for half a million.

the system of ecclesiastical parallelograms set fairly in operation, and that each is to contain 2000, the largest number which Dr C. thinks any minister should have allotted to him, by what contrivances are you to prevent the flocks of one shepherd from intermingling with the neighbour flocks? Suppose the whole town under some extraordinary impulse to divide themselves into the neatest possible compact squares, each comprising 2000 inhabitants; that the indwellers in each of these parishes confine themselves to attendance on the Sabbath ministrations of the clergyman located in the centre of the district, and that the whole town is arranged to the heart's content of the greatest admirers of the civic economy of great towns,—let us suppose the whole of this wonderful machinery set fairly in motion, each minister gaining the affections of his people, the attendants at the same church uniting together in the kindness of social intercourse, and in plans of benevolence and usefulness, and attached to their minister and to each other, by the ties of Christian love and fellowship.

In the course of the first year, how many of these would change their dwelling place? This may be calculated by ascertaining the average time that tenants remain in the same house. From some experience I would say from three to five years, but take it at five years, this gives 400 out of every 2000 shifting their residence every year, and when to this is added the constant moving of household servants, and unmarried labourers and operatives, what would be the state of all these ecclesiastical parallelograms in five years? One of two things must have followed, either each individual and household fell mechanically into the ecclesiastical apparatus provided for him in his new location; or retaining his affections for his minister, his friends, and brethren, he continues his church connection, while he changes the place of his domicile. If it were possible, would it be desirable that the Presbytery or the Town-Council should possess the power of causing the inhabitants to form themselves into parishes, as the King of Prussia orders his troops to form themselves into squares?

But there are other most cogent reasons, founded on the principles of Christianity itself, which must ever prevent the accomplishment of this notable scheme. When young people first

But perhaps the Church Accommodation Committee, of which Dr Chalmers is convener, could prevail on Government to lend the half million at four per cent, laying a tax on the inhabitants to pay the interest. In this way the burden would be less felt, as the interest would be only L. 20,000 which, added to the stipend, would make the annual charge L. 188,000, consequently, assuming that the seat rents would pay for the precentors, and door-keepers, a yearly annuity tax of 46 per cent. over the whole police bounds would cover the entire ecclesiastical expenditure. So much for the rationality of this plan.



join a church, they will be influenced by more rational motives, than the mere proximity of an individual preacher; they will have a preference and regard for the minister through whose instructions they were led into the ways of wisdom and peace. Natural affection will lead them to worship in company with their fathers, their friends, and kindred, and they may either find, or imagine they find, the ministrations of one more profitable than another. And are they to break every tie,—are they to sacrifice every benefit and affection? Are they to dissolve their connection with churches as easily as they flit from one house to another? all for the sake of the uniformity of juxtaposition. If they were, it would indicate a greater attachment to mechanical and arbitrary arrangements, than to Christian principle.

But I have all along argued as if the whole population were members of one religious establishment. The difficulties that present themselves even in this case should cure the most enthusiastic churchman of this parish mania; but when to this is added the consideration, that more than one-half of the church-going population are Dissenters, to talk of such a scheme is altogether chimerical.

I regret to see the Reverend Doctor draw so largely on his own imagination in propounding his scheme of church fellowship. It would have been becoming to have made some reference to the Divine rule in matters ecclesiastical; and if the Doctor is not blinded by paternal affection for his own offspring, he may see why this scheme of man's devising has wearied him with its very vanity. It is distressing to think, that so much talent and honest zeal should have been wasted on vain, impracticable, and unscriptural devices.

The Christian is not without the instruction of the Divine law in this case; he is not commanded to depend on such a beggarly element as a State provision for the support of the gospel for his own benefit, or its extension to others. He that is taught in the word, is commanded to communicate to him that teacheth in all good things. They that are strong are to help the weak; they that are rich are to assist the poor. A beautiful example is given of the working of the voluntary principle, in the instance of the poor churches of Judea, which were assisted by the richer churches of Achaia and Macedonia. And observe, this is not a mere historical account of transactions in primitive times, affording excellent moral lessons of a general nature; but while the events are narrated, we are clearly instructed in the distinct moral advantages resulting from this divine arrangement. It is not an unfortunate occurrence, which was met and overcome in a Christian spirit, but it is given as an example for

our imitation; for we are at the same time distinctly and explicitly informed, that this is the means which God employs to improve and exalt the Christian character, and to unite in holy affection, the members of His family, in all the varieties of rank and condition.

“For the administration of this service,” says the Apostle, “not only supplieth the want of the saints, but is abundant also by many thanksgivings unto God; while by the experiment of this ministration they glorify God, for your professed subjection unto the gospel of Christ, and for your liberal distribution unto them, and unto all men, and by their prayer for you, which long after you for the exceeding grace of God in you. Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift.”

In this instance the adaptation of the divine institutions to the moral government of God’s providence is signally displayed in the effects of these institutions upon men in all their diversified circumstances.

If the receivers of the bounty were blessed, the givers were more blessed. The emotions of charity which were excited in the breasts of the more wealthy, purified and ennobled their souls. The poor recipients of the bounty, with pure and ardent feelings of gratitude and love to their richer brethren, prayed that the blessings of Heaven might descend upon them; all were united together in the affection of a holy brotherhood, and all joined in thanks to God for his unspeakable gift.

This is the system which the men of establishments and endowments would supplant by the vulgar and beggarly elements of a State provision; by which the rich say, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” Let us apply to Parliament for a grant; and the poor, when they get the grant, receive it as the moody pauper who conceives he is *entitled* to parish aid,—it is his right. Why should he expend either gratitude or love on his richer brethren; it is not from them he receives the bounty, but from some abstract thing he calls the parish.

We are charged by Dr Chalmers with hostility to the Church, because we object to the substitution of his mechanical arrangement of parallelograms and State endowments for the divine ordinances of the Head of the church. To this hostility I plead guilty, and till I am convinced that the New Testament warrants such weak and worldly projects for the support of the Christian church, I shall continue my decided and uncompromising hostility to them.

Had we heard of this parish scheme now for the first time, we might have been captivated by the dazzling representations to adopt it; it would have been difficult at least to resist trying

it on a small scale. But is the Doctor aware to what extent it has been tried in Scotland, and how miserably it has failed?

I take the three neighbouring Presbyteries of Dalkeith, Peebles, and Biggar. In the first, there are fifteen parishes, which, by the population returns, average each 2291; but striking off the towns of Dalkeith, Lasswade, Inveresk, and Penny-cuik, the remaining eleven average 1237. In the Presbytery of Peebles, there are twelve parishes, averaging 778; but striking off the towns of Peebles and Linton, the remaining ten average 500 each. In the Presbytery of Biggar there are eleven parishes, averaging 601 each; striking off 1915, the population of the town, the remaining ten average 470; the largest 773, and seven of them under 500 each.

In the twenty-three parishes of Peebles and Biggar, especially in the ten belonging to the latter, this vaunted parish system has been in operation since the establishment of Presbytery, I presume. Now, unless the scheme be the veriest delusion, two results must have flowed from this. There will be a marked distinction between the inhabitants of the Peebles and Biggar parishes, and the inhabitants of the Dalkeith parishes, the former will greatly excel the latter in Christian knowledge and pious conduct. If this is the case, I have never heard it remarked.

*Secondly*, as every minister has had a smaller flock allotted to him than that fixed on in Dr Chalmers' *beau ideal*, (his "excellent friend, the Rev. Charles Bridges of Old Newton, Suffolk, domesticated 600 into one parochial family,") then ministers, with their parishes of 470 and 500 inhabitants, or 100 families, must have trained them up to a pitch of Christian discipline of a superlative quality. If this be the case, they must have carried the distinguishing Christian virtue of humility rather to a blameable length, for they have entirely hid their light under a bushel.

With the experience of nearly 200 years of the utter feebleness and inefficiency of this parish scheme, when tried with the most manageable numbers, we may surely be justified for placing little faith in magnificent promises of efficacy for the future.

But one would imagine to hear the Doctor, that the wicked corporation of the city had purposely put it out of the power of the ministers of the Establishment to effect all the mighty reformations which they would have accomplished but for their anti-christian machinations. Now, how stands the fact? Although learned professors have an unaccountable loathing at arithmetical calculations, I must be excused for giving the number of the inhabitants of the ancient Royalty, and dividing them by the number of ministers in the same district. The population, then, is 28,196; this number divided by the thirteen ministers, leaves

for each 2169, which is very nearly the flock proposed by the Doctor.\* If the population have relapsed into practical heathenism, on whose head does the criminality fall?

It will be said that some of the parishes are large, and others proportionally small; but the clergy never were hindered from making such arrangements among themselves, as would enable them in the most effectual way to divide the districts so as to promote the spiritual interests of the people. And if it be still urged, that no such proper division was made, and that it was not the business of the ministers to make it; and if we must acknowledge, that, from the great extent of territory that fell to the portion of one, the field could not be properly cultivated, we are certainly entitled to expect, that at least the smaller field that consequently fell to the share of another would be well cultivated, and that our eyes should be delighted with the fruitful verdure of those smaller parishes like oases in the desert.

In the parish of New Grayfriars alone, is included a population of 820 in hospitals, for whose spiritual instruction special provision is made. If these and the inhabitants of the other public institutions included in the population returns, such as the Infirmary, be deducted, the number to each minister will not materially, if at all, exceed 2000. The exact number of families, according to the Parliamentary digest of the population, is 6373, or 490 to each minister.

Unless this parish scheme, which has been so eloquently expatiated on, be the veriest romance, we shall find, that, though the large parishes be involved in thick Egyptian darkness, the smaller parishes, in which there are less than 1000 inhabitants for each minister, (and of these there are more than one in Edinburgh,) will present the pleasing pictures of little Goshens, shining in light and virtue in the midst of the dense mass of ignorance, vice, and heathenism, with which they are surrounded. The Doctor may say that the ministers were unfit for their duty, or neglected it, otherwise all his fondest anticipations would have been realised. I would not say so; but if it were the case, does this not demonstrate the inherent vice and feebleness of the endowment scheme? But for these endowments, such

\* It would only be 490 families to each, and it ought to be remembered that the locomotion which has been talked of as in itself an intolerable oppression, if taken so as judiciously to alternate with the hours of study, would promote the health of the body, while the intercourse of the minister with his parishioners would furnish materials for the study; and in a well-paved town, with streets kept clean summer and winter, to a willing mind the difficulties would not be insuperable. But how inconsistent is Dr Chalmers to rail at a system which actually allotted to each of the thirteen ministers of the ancient Royalty a population smaller by 350 than the number which he proposed to take for his Cowgate parish, when he was cutting and carving out of the Royalty a parish for himself.—See his Proposals in the Appendix.



clergymen would have made greater exertions, or they must have retired, and been replaced by more efficient labourers.

Dr Chalmers assures us (page 25,) that the people of the Old Town, "*by an immense majority*, have actually sunk into a state of heathenism." It may be worth inquiring how this mass of heathenism has been suffered to accumulate in the centre of a city containing a greater number of churches and endowed ministers in proportion to the population than any city in Scotland. The hardened sinner of 1835 was the infant of 1801, the child of 1811, and the youth of 1821. Surely, then, Dr Chalmers will admit that, if there were what he allows to be a sufficient number of ministers during these several periods, namely, one to every 2000 inhabitants, one of two things must be true, either that the ministers grossly neglected their duty, and are answerable for the sin of allowing, by their neglect, "an immense majority" of their flocks to "sink into a state of heathenism," or that church establishments are incapable of promoting the temporal and eternal interests of mankind. It will be easy to prove\* that during the periods referred to, while the

\* The population of the Old Town at the periods referred to according to Parliamentary returns is stated below, and to put the matter in a clear point of view, the number of ministers at each period is also stated, with the average number of individuals and families to each minister; the number of days in which each minister could visit all the families under his charge at the rate of fourteen families each day, supposing that he visited all the Dissenters, Roman Catholics, and openly wicked, as well as the members of the Establishment.

		Population of Old Town.	No. of mi- nisters.	Population to each mi- nister.	Families to each minister.	No. of days required to visit all the families at 14 per day.
1801,	-	20,658	15	1377	275	20
1811,	-	22,578	15	1505	301	21
1821,	-	29,850	14	2132	426	30
1831,	-	28,196	13	2169	490	35

The Parliamentary returns of the census of 1831 show the number of families. As those for the other years only show the number of individuals, the families have been calculated at the rate of five individuals to a family, which is a little above the average of poor districts; but when it is considered that the inhabitants of all the hospitals and other public institutions are included in the gross population, it will be apparent that the number of families is more likely to be overstated than understated. The number of families which a clergyman may visit in a day is stated at fourteen, in consequence of a conversation which a friend of mine recently had with the Rev. Mr Hunter of the Tron Church, who is known to be most assiduous in visiting his parish. That reverend gentleman, alluding to the small proportion of the poor who attend church, mentioned as an instance, that, of fourteen poor families which he had visited the preceding day, only three had seats in any church. As he made no remark about fourteen families being an unusual number, I have taken this as the standard. Those who think the number too great or too small, have only to alter the number of days in proportion to their own views. It will be kept in mind, that the district of each minister in the old town does not on an average exceed a gunshot in each direction, and that Dr Chalmers recommends that poor families living in the same stair should be assembled and addressed in one room. This recommendation, I have reason to believe, is frequently followed, and on this plan it would require no great exertion to visit fourteen families in one day.

people were rapidly sinking into a state of heathenism, there was a much greater number of ministers in proportion to the population than Dr Chalmers says are sufficient, not only to prevent this progress to heathenism, but sufficient to effect a much more difficult matter, to convert to Christianity that immense majority of the population which, he says, they have already suffered to sink into this lamentable state of ignorance.

As many of the present ministers were in office during the period referred to, and as many of their colleagues recently deceased were men who would have done honour to any church, I presume Dr Chalmers will not impute to the present and deceased ministers of Edinburgh individually, the fearful responsibility which his description of the extent of heathenism would imply, and therefore he must admit the utter impotency of Establishments, even when placed in the most favourable circumstances.

The Doctor mourns over the days when not only had the inhabitants of the Royalty the exclusive occupation of their own churches, but when it was the invariable habit for the residents in each separate parish to attend the proper and peculiar church of that parish. Does the Doctor recollect that this golden age of the Church was produced by the agency of a zealous supporter of establishments like himself, who held the same theory about parishes, who was no less urgent in promoting it, and who unfortunately had more power to enforce it? He is not the first who has ridden this hobby-horse. Charles I. proposed to the magistrates to double the number of ministers, for whose maintenance he proposed the annuity tax, and he recommended them to fine all who deserted their proper and peculiar church. Maitland gives the agreement which was presented by the King in eight separate articles, with the answers of agreement to each by the magistrates. The following are the sixth and eighth. After referring to the distribution of parishes, which each was to attend :\*

“ *Art. 6.* And notwithstanding the distributioun aforesaid, the Proveist, Baillies and Counsell of the town must everie *Sunday* resort ordinarlie at the Heigh Church, at leist in the forenoone, the

\* In the negociations of the Magistrates with King Charles, it is curious to remark, that our predecessors had as unaccountable a dislike to a large staff of clergy as the degenerate Town-Council of the present day.

The only part of the articles proposed by the King which the magistrates boggled at was that requiring them to increase the number of ministers from four to eight; this proposition they dexterously evaded, and it was not till 1641 that they increased the number of parishes from four to six. The following is a quotation from their answer to the King :—“ And since the common guid is not abill to sustein the burthen alreddie imposed thereupone, and of reasone aucht not to be thralld to the payment of the minister’s stipends; and that the augmentation desired, both in mater and maner, does crave mature advysement; they most humbly intreat his Majestie to pardoun theme, that they cannot give answer to the same at this present.”—*Maitland’s Hist. of Edinburgh*, p. 275.



rest of their families (their necessar attendants onlie excepted) being astricted to keip their proper parochie churches, as others of the people.

“*Answ.* It is answered to the sixt, That they agrie, that notwithstanding the distributioun foresaid, the Proveist, Baillies, and Counsall of the guid town, sall everie *Sunday* resort ordinarilie to the Heigh Church, at leist in the forenoone, the rest of their families (their necessar attendants onlie excepted) being astricted to keip their proper parochie kirkis, as others of the people.”

“*Art. 8.* Lastlie, His Majistie requireth ane act to be maide by the Magistrates, and Council of the town, against all such as doe not communicat with their ministers in their own parochie church, or sall goe out of the town to other communiones, without the license and testemonie of their awin ministrie; and the act to containe sum severe penaltie to be inflicted upon the transgressours.

“*Answ.* It is answered to the last, That the Proveist, Baillies, and Counsall ar content, and consents, and promittis to caus an act to be maid in their counsall-books against such as doe not communicat in their own parochins, or sall goe out of the town to other communiones, without the license and Testimonie of their ministers; containing a penaltie of twenty pundis for everie fault, to be uplifted by the treasurer of the good town, to be applied to the common workis of the same.”—*Count. Regist.* Vol. xiii. f. 276.

I do not know that this act is repealed; if it were enforced, it would bring a considerable revenue to the town; which would be very convenient in its present bankrupt circumstances.\*

Many and grievous charges are brought against the Town-Council, the old close corporation as well as the reformed. It would be rather chivalrous in me were I to attempt to defend the former; I, who made no small exertion to stop their proceedings. The Doctor and his brethren must allow that the close corporation were the first and the greatest sinners in expelling the poor from the churches; but how comes it that the Edinburgh clergy were so quiet and obsequious to them when they were in power, and nursed their wrath all for the benefit of the unhappy reformers?

I acknowledge that the Church has suffered, is suffering, and will continue to suffer, from its connection with the Town-Council. It cannot be avoided; it is an ill assorted match; but if the Church will insist on a union which destroys her peace, and respectability, and usefulness, she must abide the consequences. It is one of the unavoidable results of connection with the State.

The magistrates are charged with putting a high rent on the church seats. Here I must justify the former Town-Councils upon two grounds:—*first*, They were bound to administer the affairs of the burgh not for the advantage of one party or one

\* The Trustees for the Creditors should look after this; it may turn out to be a branch of revenue which they can attach.

sect. They found the chartered sect entitled to assess the community for the maintenance of their ministers, and to claim the use of a certain number of churches, for which the occupants were to pay seat rents. The magistrates who levied such enormous sums from the community for this favoured sect, were bound in justice to see that there was, if possible, a fair return in the shape of rent for the capital expended by the inhabitants generally, on account of a section of their body. *Secondly*, In certain churches, and for certain pews which are considered convenient and fashionable, there was a great competition. If six individuals wanted the same pew, all having the same claim, the magistrates could only give it to one; consequently five were in great wroth on account of the partiality shown to the favourite, who each thought was less entitled to the preference than himself. It appears to me that the fairest plan for settling the difference was raising the price to such a height as would settle the dispute. And it must be observed, that it is only in such cases that they enhanced the rents of the sittings.

The Town-Council are charged with diverting the funds of the church into their own treasury; but those who are acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of Edinburgh know, that, from the earliest times, the reverse of this has been the case, the grasping hand of the clergy has been felt heavy on the community, and the magistrates have been dunned by their insatiable cry of Give, give.\*

Although Dr Chalmers cannot deny that, according to his own data, there were abundance of ministers, he asserts that the poor were excluded by the high seat rents. This excuse, however, will not avail; the rent of the churches referred to for the

\* "And for the better government of the said parishes, the common council, with advice of the incumbents, were to select out of each parish, three elders and four deacons, who, together with two of the bailiffs, four inferior members of the Town-Council, and the ministers, were to meet every *Thursday*, on church and parish affairs, and were to be denominated the *Church Session*."

"In the year 1588, one minister was judged sufficient for a parish, which were only four in *Edinburgh*. (1588, Coun. Regist. Vol. 9. f. 2.) This being a time of great dearth, the minister's stipends were insufficient to maintain them and families. They petitioned the common council for an augmentation; which being granted, to each of the two first, were added one hundred merks yearly; to the third, fifty; and to the fourth, twenty merks; whereby their stipends were raised to six hundred, five hundred, and three hundred and sixty merks yearly. But *Bruce*, the first minister, who had the largest stipend, it seems, not being satisfied therewith, threatened to leave the town. The common council guessing at the reason, augmented his stipend to one thousand merks; which the very mercenary creature was graciously pleased to accept of, though it only amounted to one hundred and forty merks *per annum*, more than those of his three brethren put together, as already observed; whereby is verified the saying, *I seek not you but yours*. From this time the ministers of *Edinburgh*, stipends appear to have been in a very fluctuating condition, by their being risen or fallen according to the town's circumstances."—Maitland's *Edinburgh*, Pp. 273-4.

last thirty-four years having been scarcely sufficient to pay for door-keepers, precentors, repairs, &c. as will be seen from the following statement :

	<i>Average price of seats in the 9 Old Town churches.</i>	<i>Average produce of seat rents of each of the churches.</i>	<i>Gross rental of the 9 Old Town churches.</i>	<i>Amount payable to ministers officiating in the Old Town churches.</i>
1801,	4s. 7½d.	L.144 0 0	L.1296 0 0	L.3000 0 0
1811,	6s. 1¾d.	201 0 0	1811 0 0	7200 0 0
1821,	7s. 8¾d.	234 0 0	2108 0 0	7280 0 0
1831,*	9s. 1¼d.	225 0 0	1485 0 0	7967 0 0
1835,	7s. 4d.	194 0 0	2028 0 0	not ascertained.

From the average produce of the rental for the different periods falls to be deducted the whole expence for precentors, beadles, cleaning and repairing the churches, communion elements, &c. which, according to accounts recently made up, amounts to L. 182, 15s. 8d. for each church. If the expences were always the same during the last thirty-four years, the Town-Council must have derived a clear revenue of L. 11, 4s. 6d. a-year from each of the churches, as a return for the capital invested in building them, and for the value of the ground on which they are built; and this is what Dr Chalmers calls enriching the corporation by robbing the Church. If it be said that L. 182 is an extravagant allowance for the expences referred to, which I am inclined to think it is, I have no objection to take the sum which Dr Chalmers and his friends considered reasonable for their proposed joint-stock church in the Cowgate, as the sum which the Town-Council ought to have expended. In the proposals referred to it is stated that L. 130 per annum must be set apart for this purpose. Adopting these economical views, then, the revenue realized for each church during the last thirty-four years will amount to L. 64 in lieu of rent, or L. 576 for the nine churches. It may be useful to keep in mind, in considering what rent the corporation *ought to receive* for each of their churches, that they at present *pay* a rent of L. 500 a-year for the use of the Methodist Chapel, and that for several years they paid L. 650 for the same place of worship.

These results show that the theory which Dr Chalmers has advanced, (evidently in profound ignorance of the facts of the case,) that the coffers of the city were replenished at the expence of the church, is altogether groundless; but when he is dislodged from this position, he takes up another equally untenable, and asserts that the poor were excluded from the church, inas-

\* In the above calculations, the rent paid by the city for the chapels in Albany Street and Nicolson Square, to accommodate the congregations of the Tolbooth and New North Churches in 1831, have been deducted from the gross produce of the seat rents, and also the rent payable in 1835 for Nicolson Square Chapel. In 1835, the average price of seats to *parishioners* in the same churches is 7s. 9d.

much as the rich monopolized all the seats. But, unfortunately for the Doctor, this assertion is as unfounded as the rest of his *alleged facts*. He finds it easier to dogmatise than to investigate; and it must be amusing to those who are really acquainted with the subject upon which he is professing to enlighten others, to observe how easily his lively imagination carries him, unencumbered by a regard to facts, out of one error into another. The truth is, there never was a time in which abundance of unlet seats could not be procured in the Old Town Churches, and at very low prices. The only instances I have been able to find, of any churches being entirely let for two years in succession, are those of the Little Church during the ministry of the Rev. Mr Grey and Dr Gordon, and Albany Street, while occupied by the Rev. Mr Marshall.

Taking the average of the Old Town churches, it will be found that a large proportion of the seats have always been unlet; and that, as additional churches were built in the New Town, the proportion of unlet seats in the Old Town increased with great rapidity. The seats, which at present are declared to be unfit for the poorer classes, are those which were formerly let to the rich before the erection of St George's, St Mary's, and St Stephen's. There is no account made up of the number of unlet seats except for the last two years; but the following is a statement of the *money value* of them, with the increase per cent. since 1790, taken from the city books. In 1790, there were 7832 sittings in the nine Old Town churches, exclusive of the free and official seats. In consequence of the enlargement of some of the churches, and the substitution of the Methodist Chapel for the New North Church, the number of sittings in 1835 has been increased to 9000, exclusive of free seats of the same classes, but including those *let* to hospitals.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Money value of unlet seats.</i>	<i>Increase per cent. in value of unlet seats.</i>
1790,	L. 186	
1801,	348	L. 87
1811,	347	87
1814,	St George's opened.	
1821,	907	387
1825,	St Mary's opened.	
1829,	St Stephen's opened.	
1831,	1002	438
1835,	1571	744

At 20th February 1835, the seats in the Old Town churches stood thus:

Let,	4696	
Let,	443	to Hospitals.
Unlet,	3841	
	<hr/>	
	9000	

The strong expressions of disapprobation with which Dr Chalmers speaks of the Reformed Town-Council, and of the alterations they have recently made on the seat rents, will induce all who are unacquainted with the result of their labours in equalizing and *lowering* them, and especially in giving a preference to parishioners, both in money, and in the competition which arises for seats, to conclude that they have *raised* the prices to a great extent, in order to increase the revenue of the city. "The parochial system," he tells us, "has been entirely broken up by the *cruel interposition of the Magistrates*."—"All along it has been a *shameful traffic*, for the enrichment of the city treasury *at the expense of the Christianity of the common people*."—"They are the Town-Council of Edinburgh *who extort these enormous seat rents* for the supply of their own treasury! And yet, *there are members of that council* who labour with all their might to direct the exasperations of *their own measures* against the persons and characters of the men who have no hand in them."—"The people without the Royalty, who have none of the annuity to pay for minister's stipend, are in respect of admittance to the city churches *on equal terms with themselves*," (those within the Royalty.) "The citizens in their respective parishes *have no preference* held out to them for the vacant sittings in their own proper churches." All these charges, so far as they are applied to the present Town-Council, are totally unfounded. Whatever may be the number and aggravations of their political sins in the eyes of certain parties, they have done more to carry into effect the principles advocated by Dr Chalmers, with respect to the church, than all the Tory Town-Councils that ever held office in Edinburgh. One general answer may be applied to all the statements referred to, namely, that the changes which the reformed Council have made regarding church matters have been directly opposed, both in spirit and in letter, to the allegations of Dr Chalmers; and, on the contrary, have been, so far as they went, in accordance with the views which he has advocated.

*First*, His charge against the present Council, that inhabitants of the city parishes have no preference over those without the city, and that parishioners have no preference in their own proper parish churches, "saving in cases of personal favouritism," is certainly very extraordinary, being directly at variance with the fact, which every minister in Edinburgh can prove to Dr Chalmers, by showing him the printed Report of the Town-Council of 27th June 1834, several copies of which were sent to all the ministers and kirk-sessions. I shall have occasion to refer to this document more than once. It is entitled "Revised Report of Committee on Church Seat Rents." The names prefixed to it, as forming the Committee are, "Dean of Guild Macfie, Convener Banks, Councillors Macaulay, Tennant, Smith, M'Laren, and Grainger."



This Report became the law respecting church seats from the moment it was approved of by the Council, and consequently it superseded all other regulations. It is the only rule for the guidance of the Chamberlain in church matters.

The following extracts from the Report will surely satisfy the most clamorous friend of parochial preferences.

“ That, at the seat letting terms, applicants for seats then vacant shall be supplied in the following order.

“ 1st, Parishioners.

“ 2d, Persons resident beyond the particular parish, but within the royalty.

“ 3d, Persons resident without the royalty.

“ In order to accomplish, as far as practicable, the desire of the Council, that the parishioners should be enabled to obtain seats in their respective parish churches, and that the seat rents should be accommodated to their respective circumstances, so as not to prove a barrier to the admission of any, *even the poorest of the people*, the Committee have to recommend;—1st, That those persons who reside in the High, the Tolbooth, the New North, the Old Grayfriars, and the College parishes, shall be allowed *an abatement on the seats occupied by them in their respective parish churches according to the following scale:*—namely, one shilling of abatement on all those at 3s., 4s., and 5s., and two shillings of abatement on all those at higher prices. In the New Town Churches, the same rule to be adopted on all seats not exceeding 15s.

If Dr Chalmers had given the present Council credit for carrying his principles into effect to a greater extent than has ever been attempted before, either in Edinburgh or any other place, it would have been more becoming in him, and doing no more than an act of justice to them.

The charge of “ extorting enormous seat rents,” coupled with that of having advanced particular churches, will create the belief, that the alterations made by the present council have had the effect of increasing the general rental of the city churches. And what are the facts? THAT THE ONLY ALTERATION MADE BY THE TOWN-COUNCIL WAS TO REDUCE THE TOTAL RENTAL TO THE EXTENT OF L. 493, 2s. 6d. The particulars of which are given in the report already referred to, and it is a curious fact, that the trustees for the city creditors have taken a regular protest against the reduction, in which they hold the members of Council jointly and severally liable for any reduction in the city revenue that may take place in consequence: and in a report recently published by them for the information of the creditors, they state, that it will be very satisfactory to them if the state of the revenue turns out such that



they will not be obliged to compel the members of Council to make any payment for the purpose of making up the deficiency out of their own private fortunes. Thus, on the one hand, we are held up to public odium by Dr Chalmers for having *advanced the seat rents*, and, on the other hand, we are held up to the city creditors as having *reduced them* to such an extent as to interfere with their interests. We have the consolation to reflect, that the trustees will hold us personally responsible only for any deficiency that may actually appear at the end of the year, when the books are balanced. I hope, therefore, the kirk-sessions will exert themselves to get an additional number of seats let to relieve us from this responsibility.

In addition to this great reduction of L. 493 on the gross rental of the city, the Council reduced the seat rents in certain churches to the extent of L. 330, 9s. 6d., but, in order to equalize the rental of those churches in which there was a demand for seats, it was necessary to meet this by a corresponding advance on the Old Grayfriars and the College Churches.

But Dr Chalmers says these reductions are made on a principle which is equivalent to setting up the churches to auction. That it is the churches where the least acceptable ministers are placed that have been most reduced. I will not enter into any discussion as to which of the ministers are least acceptable, leaving that point to be settled by their own friends; but I shall arrange the churches according to the extent of the reductions made on the prices of the seats, which, according to the theory of Dr Chalmers, will be placing the least acceptable ministers first, and the most acceptable last.

1. Tolbooth Church,	-	-	-	L. 176	14	0
2. St Mary's,	-	-	-	165	0	0
3. High Church,	-	-	-	115	11	0
4. New North,	-	-	-	53	12	0
5. St Andrews,	-	-	-	39	2	0
6. New Grayfriars,	-	-	-	23	1	0
7. Tron Church,	-	-	-	17	3	6
8. St George's,	-	-	-	16	1	6
9. Lady Yester's,	-	-	-	6	5	6
10. St Stephen's,	-	-	-	3	6	0

It is made a subject of complaint, that, in the table published by Dr Chalmers, the number of sittings in the different churches for the years 1834 and 1835 do not agree with each other. The report shows that this apparent difference is the effect of all the churches of the town having been remeasured by order of the Committee, and the number of seats fixed on the same principle in all the churches for rich and poor,—all descriptions of seats having the same measurement, which was not the case formerly.

As Dr Chalmers asserts that the increase of revenue exacted by the Town-Council from the sitters in the churches has been

the great cause of the existing mass of heathenism, it may be interesting to show precisely the extent of the increase, and to compare it with the increase of revenue exacted by the ministers during the same period, in the shape of stipends. The increase in both cases is placed below in parallel columns. By comparing these, the public will be enabled to judge whether the palm of rapacity ought to be awarded to the Magistrates or to the ministers. In making the comparison, it should be kept in mind, that the Magistrates exacted money only from those who came forward voluntarily to pay it, and who received in return what they considered value for their money in the shape of church accommodation; while the ministers sent their tax-gatherer to every poor man's door, compelling him to pay 5s. of annuity, if the rent of his house or shop was rated at L. 4, 3s. 4d.; and in the same proportion for higher rents, and this without any regard to the question, whether they received any benefit in return. The openly wicked, who never entered any place of worship, as well as the Churchman and Dissenter, were equally compelled to submit to the exaction for the support of the Church, or be exposed to the risk of having their goods distrained, or their persons imprisoned. With these remarks, I leave others to decide whether the exactions of the Magistrates or the ministers did most to alienate the people from the church.

Date.	Value of seats let in nine Old Town churches.	Increase per cent. in value of let seats.	Ministers' stipend.	Increase per cent. in sti- pend.
1790,	L. 1243		L. 160	
1801,	1296	3	200	25
1811,	1811	45	297*	85
1821,	2108	69	510	218
1831,	2556	113	629	293
1835,	2528	103	uncertain.	uncertain.

It will be observed from the above, that the let seats at present produce little more than double what they did forty-five years ago, while the stipends of the ministers have been increased nearly *fourfold*.

It may be asserted with safety, that, so far from having been unduly advanced, the seat rents of the churches referred to have been advanced less than any other kind of accommodation, and less than any kind of professional remuneration during the same period. While the families who attend the Established Churches in the Old Town, and who are, generally, the wealthy and middling classes, not of the Old Town but of the southern districts and New Town, pay on an average for hearing the gospel, only double the sum which was paid forty-five years ago,

\* The stipends for 1811, 1821, and 1831, are each the averages of ten years, ending at the respective dates.

by congregations composed of a much larger proportion of the poorer classes, the same parties at present pay at a much more increased ratio for their lawyers, their physicians, their teachers, and their house rent, than for their church accommodation.

The result of the various alterations made by the present Council is curious, when the *facts* are looked at and compared with the charges brought against them, of raising the seat rents to such an extent as to exclude the poor from the churches. The following table shows the number of sittings of the various classes, not exceeding ten shillings, before the alterations alluded to took place, and the numbers of the corresponding classes at present, at the prices payable by parishioners.

	No. of seats of each class in 1835.	No. of seats of each class in 1833.
2s. and under,	389	139
3s. and under,	973	346
4s. and under,	1671	699
5s. and under,	2426	1234
6s. and under,	3350	2282
7s. and under,	4429	2722
8s. and under,	5335	3806
9s. and under,	6350	4565
10s. and under,	8222	4898

Besides creating such an additional number of low-priced seats for parishioners, and giving them a preference in the letting, in all cases, the present Council have agreed to let all seats at 8s. and under, by the half-year, which was never done before, in order to accommodate servants and poor people. They have also agreed, as appears from the same report, to increase the number of low-priced seats as soon as those at present set apart for the poorer classes shall be found insufficient for their accommodation; and, in order to prevent the rich from taking possession of those seats which were reduced for the benefit of the poor, it is enacted that the seats from 2s. to 6s. shall be retained for those families who pay less than L. 10 of rent; in short, in all the alterations made, the views of Dr Chalmers were followed out to an extent which he could scarcely have anticipated. Even in those cases where an advance on the total rental took place it was confined to the high-priced seats, and, so far from the seats for the poor having been advanced, they were considerably reduced in price, and increased in number. Having shown that the general allegations of Dr Chalmers are so utterly at variance with the facts, it is scarcely necessary to say, that his statements respecting less important matters, are equally erroneous.

The account of the state of the city Churches, which has given such mortal offence, is not the production of the Voluntaries, but the Accountant of the city, in terms of an order by the Town-Council; and the business-like, complete statement

which he has produced does him great credit. Assuredly he did not draw it up with the view of injuring the church; but if others thought it was a proof of the groundlessness of the clamour for additional churches and endowments, there was nothing more natural than that they should use it for this purpose. All the reports of the Town-Council are public property, and the Magistrates can claim no control over their application by others. These Church reports have been pecked at by many a nibbler, but in every particular of the smallest consequence, they will be found correct.\* The report on which so much has been said about seats behind pillars has been revised by order of the Council, and the number of seats from which ministers cannot be seen has been correctly ascertained from the actual measurement of each pew by the City Superintendant, and, excepting in the instance of the Grayfriars, where it was found that the view of the pulpit was obstructed not only by the pillars, but by a part of the arches, there is nothing that requires correction. We attached no blame to the ministers on account of the thinness of any of the congregations; we merely made up our annual account as exhibited by our books; and if the result was not satisfactory to the clergy they might take such means as appeared to them likely to increase their congregations. The simple statement of accounts ought not to have earned for the Council such opprobrious epithets as “adversaries who cripple the Church, and then calumniate it;”—as guilty of “malignant policy and virtual falsehood;”—and the inefficiency of the Church charged “altogether to the craft and enmity of our city rulers.”

The reckless charges against the present Council would have justified me in using stronger language than I am willing to do, but if the church is inefficient we must put the saddle on the right horse's back. And let me here advise the different sessions not to be rash in making assertions about the attendance

\* The following is the number of sittings which may be called bad in the different churches, on account of being obscured by pillars, or by other causes, as ascertained on actual measurement by the superintendant, and that they are not altogether unfit for dogs, will appear from this, that even some of those bad sittings have been taken.

	No. of bad sittings.	Bad sittings Let.	Bad sittings Unlet.	Total Unlet.
High Church, -	200	55	145	355
Tolbooth Church,	203	34	169	467
College Church, -	108	2	106	428
Old Grayfriars Church, -	182	17	165	417
New Grayfriars Church,	147	1	146	578
	840	109	731	2245
Add unlet seats in other churches where there are no such obstructions,				2764
				5009
Deduct unlet seats behind pillars, &c.				731
Total unlet, exclusive of bad sittings,				4278

as greatly exceeding the let seats. There is no doubt that the number of the congregation in the churches where there is room will generally exceed the number of seats let, but not greatly. The matter is easily settled, for there is no difficulty in counting those actually present. But there is no use in provoking this scrutiny.

When Dr Chalmers thunders his anathemas against those who object to additional churches in the Cowgate, I hope he will not have respect to persons, but deal out even-handed justice. Now, may I remind him, that in the year 1818, a number of individuals, who had purchased the English Chapel in the Cowgate, applied for the sanction of the Edinburgh Presbytery that it might be erected into a Chapel of Ease connected with the Church of Scotland! The inhabitants were not to be called on to bear any part of the expences, either for the support of the house or the minister. It may be supposed that the ministers of Edinburgh hailed with delight this benevolent offer, and the aid of so effective an auxiliary to labour in the over extensive field which it was entirely out of their own power to cultivate. No such thing. The offer was refused by the Presbytery. Some may think it could only be the moderates in the church, not the zealously orthodox, who are chargeable with this rejection. So far from that, both parties seem to have vied with each other for the honour. The Christian Instructor for June 1818 tells us, that, when the question was debated in the General Assembly, there appeared as parties from the Presbytery in favour of rejecting the chapel, Dr Macknight, Dr Inglis, Sir H. Moncreiff, Mr Andrew Thomson, Dr David Ritchie, and Mr Dickson Junior; and the vote being called, it was determined that the chapel should be refused, by 98 voting in favour of the Presbytery's resolution, and 32 against it. What was the ground on which the offer was rejected? It was argued by the late Dr Thomson and others, that because there were then 2000 seats unlet in the city churches where those who wished it might find church accommodation, it was therefore unnecessary to erect any additional chapel in the Cowgate. If the Presbytery in 1818 refused the chapel which was to cost nothing either for minister or house, because there were then 2000 seats unlet, was it very unreasonable, or very criminal in the Magistrates of 1834, not to agree to the building of a chapel, which was injuriously to interfere with the parish arrangements, and to cost L. 600 annually for the minister, while there were nearly 5000 sittings unlet in the city churches, 3380 of these being in the neighbourhood, and after the locality had received by voluntary exertions a chapel capable of containing 2000 persons.\*

\* On the 1st December last, the Presbytery of Edinburgh had presented to them a



The proposal of Dr Chalmers was shortly this : That the subscribers for building the church should draw four per cent. for their money, from the proceeds of the seat rents till the magistrates chose to take it under their own charge, when they were to be paid up their capital. Of course, if the seats, which were to be low rented, did not yield four per cent. on the outlay, the per centage would be diminished, in proportion to the deficiency. The subscribers were to choose the site of the church, and to have it erected on the plan and in the manner they proposed. They were to fix the rental of the seats and make other regulations. When the church passed into the hands of the Magistrates, on their paying up the capital to the subscribers, they were to receive it under the restriction of abiding by the regulations of the subscribers in all time coming. The subscribers were to retain the patronage till the Town-Council took the church under their own management, by repaying the capital advanced by the subscribers. On the first vacancy in one of the double charges, the church in which the vacancy occurred was to be uncollegiated, and the new minister fixed in the Cowgate church.

Let us see what the effect of this would have been.

1st, It would so far have prevented the reduction of the number of ministers to the number of the present parishes, *thirteen*, which the Council had then hopes of accomplishing.

2d, In this district there are already eight churches, each little more than one hundred yards distant from this locality. In short, the Cowgate is studded with churches along its line, besides one large meeting-house in the centre of the locality, and

petition from several inhabitants of the City, in the name of themselves and about 300 heads of families, stating, that they had purchased for L. 4000, the late Episcopal Chapel in Cowgate, and praying that the same might be erected into a Chapel of Ease in communion with the Established Church. The Presbytery, after much discussion, refused to comply with the prayer of this petition, conceiving the said erection unnecessary and inexpedient. Their sentence was brought by appeal before the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, who, upon hearing parties, reversed it; and it was against the sentence of the synod that Dr Macknight, supported by other members of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, now appealed. Parties being called, Mr Andrew Thomson, on the part of the Presbytery, argued against the expediency of erecting this chapel into a Chapel of Ease. He stated, in the course of a long speech, *that the Established Churches of Edinburgh had more than two thousand seats vacant, and which the petitioners might have access to, if they really wanted accommodation in the Established Church.* The Reverend Gentleman further stated, that this was nothing but an attempt to create a new congregation under a favourite clergyman, while there was a Chapel of Ease in the neighbourhood, quite competent, along with the other Established congregations, to contain the whole of the parties who made this application. Dr Meiklejohn followed on the same side, and enforced the same arguments. Mr Henry Cockburn, as counsel for the petitioners, in a speech of two hours and a half duration, endeavoured to convince the Assembly of the propriety of granting the prayer of the petition. He went into a history of the Church of Scotland, the progress of Dissenters, and in the most feeling terms, appealed to the Assembly whether or not two thousand Christian souls, knocking at the door of the church to become members of the Establishment, should be rejected, when, comparatively speaking, the increased population had been far greater than the accommodation made by the Established church during the last fifty years."—*Edinburgh Magazine, June 1816*, p. 582.

two chapels very close upon it, giving accommodation to 4000 sitters, in addition to that provided by the Established churches.

3d, There were 4815 sittings unlet in the churches of the Establishment, and 3380 of these in seven of the churches in the neighbourhood, besides the free and vacant sittings in the Dissenting meeting-houses.

4th, If the Magistrates were to build a new church, this was clearly not the quarter where it was wanted, and they would have acted very preposterously had they set down a new church where there was no demand for one, rather than in neighbourhoods where the town was in greater want of church accommodation.

5th, The town would have made a very bad bargain with the subscribers, who no doubt intended to do a generous act, but it would have been a very prodigal one on the part of the Council, who would really have borrowed the money on such hard terms as spendthrifts are sometimes obliged to submit to; for what else was it, than borrowing money at four per cent., and giving as a bonus to the lenders, the right to control its expenditure, and regulate its application in such manner as might please them, besides the patronage of a church yielding a stipend of L. 500 or L. 600 per annum? If the stipend of the minister was to be paid out of the annuity, the business would have been badly managed, indeed, if the proceeds of the seat rents did not defray the ordinary expences, besides L. 120 as interest on L. 3000, which it was expected to cost.

It has often been said, build new churches, and the proceeds of the seatrents will defray all the cost, and yield a handsome overplus. Looking at the individual new church, and new minister, this is always the case; but it has generally been found, that the new church has only been filled by drafts of fickle Athenians from the other churches, and the rental over all has been diminished; so that the probable effect of agreeing to Dr Chalmers's plan would have been to lead to the building of a church in the very place where it is not wanted, and to a material diminution of the revenues of the town. I have always maintained that, if a new church is to be built, the town should keep the whole arrangement in their own hands, and if they were to borrow money for the building of a plain church where it is required, they will better accommodate the community, and have a larger return than four per cent. for the outlay, without any extraneous restrictions.\*

\* Here I know I shall be upbraided with acting on a vulgar mercenary principle. I maintain that I act upon the principle of justice; for if the community at large should furnish this congregation with, say L. 5000 to build a house for their accommodation, and L. 500 or L. 600 per annum for the maintenance of their minister,

Some members of the Town-Council had a strong objection to the introduction of a principle so repugnant to the genius of Christianity, as systematically separating the ranks in the worship of God. This Cowgate church would have been stigmatized as the pauper church, being built expressly for the poor; the wealthier and even the middle classes would reluctantly have connected themselves with it.

There is another circumstance which seems generally overlooked in this discussion. In Edinburgh there are about 14,000 Roman Catholics. These have generally fixed their residence in the closes adjoining the Cowgate: I should think nearly one-half of them will be found in that district, and most unhappily for them, that curse which has blighted their own land, has followed them into this. What Dr Chalmers says of the Catholic disabilities applies in all its force to the exactions from the Catholics in Edinburgh for the Protestant church. "They were meant to serve as a barrier of defence for Protestants *against* the encroachments of Popery; and they have turned out a barrier of defence for Papists, against the encroachments of Protestantism. They were intended as a line of circumvallation around the strongholds of the Protestant faith, and in effect, they have been a line of circumvallation around the strongholds of the Catholic Faith." In their own country the Irish Catholics have been a nation plundered and peeled by the ministers of the Protestant faith. The exactions and oppressions which they have endured from these men have shut up and sealed every avenue to the truth in their minds; and when they come to Edinburgh, and find that their evil genius still follows them in the shape of an annuity tax, they cannot but dread and detest that which haunts them as a heretic and as a robber. It is not building churches that will win over these men to the truth: remove the grand obstacle; relieve them from what they have good grounds to consider injustice and oppression, and then there will be some chance of their listening to you. It is vain to say that few of them are liable for this tax; the number of payers is considerable, and there are few men in whom the *esprit de corps* is stronger. It

and L. 180 annually for church expences, the Magistrates, who are guardians of the interests of the community, and not organs of a sect, are bound to see that the section of the community, or the society which receives so costly a benefit from the body at large, should make a fair return to those who are at the expence of providing for them. I confess all the eloquence of Dr Chalmers has failed to convince me that such a congregation is entitled to be absolved, both from the expence of maintaining their own clergyman, and from every other exaction. He speaks of some proper and original interest make the members of the Establishment within a particular district have in the sittings of their own churches. If the law or usage in opposition to strict justice has so ruled it, the borough law or usage has given the community at least the means of procuring some small return for a portion of the property wrested from them, and if ever the administrators of their affairs give up this right, they will sacrifice the interests of the body to a favoured section.

is an injustice to their countrymen and to their religion, and every man feels it as inflicted on himself. I conclude, that, of all the districts of Edinburgh, the Cowgate least requires a new church.\*

But let me remind Dr Chalmers, though the Council were not prepared to adopt his scheme, because it would have fixed a bad arrangement for the town, they were disposed to second his endeavours to reclaim the lower orders in that quarter by the operation of his own plan; they proposed to try the experiment with a church which was almost in the locality; to give to him and his friends the election of a minister who they thought would suit their purpose, and to co-operate in any other arrangement. Although the offer was not made formally, it was proposed in the conference, and it was understood that the Magistrates were perfectly willing to give up the Old Grayfriars Church, which then might have been said to be vacant, and which at that time had only 122 sittings let, besides the hospital seats. This was rejected by the subscribers, and I contend that the conduct of the Council in the whole of this business was both prudent and liberal. The Doctor has given in his pamphlet an extract from the Report of the Committee of the Town-Council on this subject. That the public may judge between us, I have inserted in the Appendix, copies of the Proposal itself, and the Report of the Town-Council upon it.†

\* The Independent Chapel in North College Street, to which I have the honour to belong, is almost as close upon the very heart of the district as it would be possible to build a new church for the Cowgate. In that chapel, one-third of the seats have always been set aside as free; and this has been perfectly notorious in the Cowgate for thirty years. The gospel has been preached faithfully, and I may say acceptably, yet of all the seats in the chapel the free seats are the least occupied.

† Names of the Committee appointed by the Town-Council to consider Dr Chalmers's proposal for erecting a church and parish in the Cowgate, the whole of which is given in the Appendix.

The Lord Provost.

Bailies Thomson,  
Macfarlane,  
Sawers,  
Donaldson;

Dean of Guild Macfie;

Convener Banks;

Councillors Crooks,  
Gillespie Graham,  
Macaulay,  
Grainger;

Bailie Donaldson, *Convener*.

In the appointment of this committee, the Council purposely selected the members that were most favourable to the Established Church, and excluded every Dissenter, and all that were suspected of leaning to Voluntaryism, in order that the subscribers might have a favourable hearing; and after attentively considering the subject, they unanimously report, that they cannot recommend the Town-Council to adopt the proposal; and it was got rid of by the Council resolving to delay taking any steps in regard to the parishes till the Burgh Commission gave in their report.

If there was enormity in this resolution, it was unjust to bring the charge with particular emphasis against me, who had neither part nor lot in framing the report by which the Council was guided, but which was drawn up by the most devoted churchmen in the Council. As Mr M'Laren's name is mentioned in connection with this subject, it is proper to state, that he was in London at the time the report was framed and discussed by the Council, and consequently he had no connection with it.



The next evil we are charged with inflicting on the Church is the appointment of Dr Lee as colleague to Dr Macknight. Dr Chalmers says, "There is nothing, we will venture to affirm, in the ecclesiastical administration of their predecessors in office, which can match the enormity of this proceeding."

I think the report of the committee clearly demonstrated not only that the Magistrates acted properly in rejecting the Cowgate scheme, but that the proposal was considered in the kindest spirit. When a successor was to be appointed to Dr Brown, what course was likely to benefit the church in the greatest degree? the appointing of the new minister,—a man in the full vigour of life, and with popular talents, as a colleague to Dr Macknight, with a congregation of 56 hearers, and 519 unlet sittings,—or placing him in Lady Yester's, with a congregation of 378, and unlet sittings amounting to 620. The declining health and the increasing years of Dr Lee clearly pointing out that, if we must keep up the full complement of ministers, those who had spent their most vigorous days in the service, and whose strength had declined, should be placed in the situations where least exertion was required. By the arrangement of the Town-Council both of these congregations will be benefited. Dr Macknight's will be increased through the assistance of Dr Lee; and by the appointment of Mr Bennie, one of the most popular preachers in the Church, to Lady Yester's, I have little doubt the congregation will be doubled.

I appeal to the public if this act of the Town-Council, which was agreed to unanimously, and was warmly supported by those members of the Council who are elders of the Church, warranted Dr Chalmers to stigmatize them as guilty of corruption, "the enormity of which is not to be matched;" as men to whom "the spectacle of sinners reclaimed and Christianized by the Church would have been gall and wormwood," and as "lying under the obloquy of virtual falsehood, and a deep and malignant policy towards the Church."

Some allowance I am willing to make for the Doctor's loss of temper on this occasion, as he seems still to be smarting under the severe disappointment of being thwarted in his Cowgate scheme. He says the Council ought to have gone into his project, given the new minister to his church, and appointed an assistant and successor to Dr Macknight. After what occurred on the last occasion of appointing an assistant and successor in the Tron Church, which led to protracted litigation and an expence of L. 2000, the Town-Council will not rashly attempt this course again. But suppose this assistant had been appointed, would the ministers of Edinburgh have paid his salary by giving him a share of the funds raised for their behoof; or must



his stipend have been sought for in the bankrupt treasury of the town ; or was he to be left to the " tender mercies of the Voluntary system ?" If the salaries of the Professors in the University have of late come within the vortex of the tremendous suction of the Common Good, and shot from their spheres, I fear Dr Macknight's assistant would have been a wandering star, on whom the golden rays of the city treasury would never have alighted. There would have been no chance of his being permitted to draw in his chair to take a portion of the general provision collected for the clergy ; and as for the tender mercy of the Voluntary system in the churches of the Establishments, the Town-Council have made various attempts to discover it, but as yet it is a *terra incognita*. Some of their aged precentors, who have spent their sweet voices in their service, on being disabled for further duty, have applied for a small pittance, as retiring allowance in old age. The congregations whom they have served, willing enough to be generous provided the money came out of the pockets of others, have recommended their disabled veterans to the compassion of the Town-Council ; and the Council have recommitted them to the Christian charity of those who benefited by their exertions in the prime of life, but I have never heard of their success.

Dr Chalmers has charged the Town-Council with many and grievous evils inflicted on the Established Church of Edinburgh. He has dealt lightly with his old friends of the close system, who generally were, and many of them still are, elders in the Establishment ; but he has emptied the vials of his wrath on the unhappy Reformers. Yet I will venture to match their proceedings, enormous though they may appear, with the proceedings of any set of their predecessors whom the Doctor may be pleased to select ; and I will prove that even the Church has reaped more benefits at their hand, than were ever conferred on it by any previous Town-Council. Was there ever a Town-Council who acted so fairly and generously to the Church, in supplying it, not with relatives and connections, and political partisans, but with the very best pastors that the Church of Scotland could produce ? Was there ever a Town-Council before, who gave the choice of their minister to the Church and congregation ? Did any Council ever before attempt to deliver the Church from the humiliating spectacle of having the ascendancy of the magistracy paraded at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, by a member of the corporation *presiding* at the communion table, and he, peradventure, the most openly profane person in the parish ? And even in the matter of the seats, the Church owes them a debt of gratitude. At the time of letting, they sent individuals of their body to the churches, and invited the

members of sessions to attend with them, that they might be satisfied that, in the competition for seats, there was no favouritism, and that those who were best entitled should be preferred. Never did any previous Town-Council encourage the attendance of parishioners in their own churches, by giving them a preference in the choice of the seats, and a reduction in the price. Even that which has been constantly harped upon by the noisy performers in favour of the Church, like Paganini's one string, which has been denounced as a mischief of unparalleled enormity, the raising the price of some of the sittings,\* and a corresponding reduction of others, was a part of the arrangements favourable to the Church.

Whilst the rents of the seats are a subject of litigation with the creditors, the Magistrates are prohibited from reducing the gross rental in the city. They did the best they could in the circumstances in which they were placed. Where the sittings were disproportionately high rented they reduced them, and to meet this reduction they raised the sittings in two of the churches where there were popular preachers, and disproportionately low rented seats, bringing the whole to as great a fairness and equality as possible. Even under the threatening of being held personally responsible, they have reduced the gross rental to some extent. And for this they are to be stigmatised as robbers of churches, and blasphemers of your goddess, and attempts are to be made at a church agitation in the style of a certain man named Demetrius, who called together the workmen of like occupation, and infuriated them against those whose opinions seemed to militate against the Established Church of Ephesus, and filled the whole city with confusion, crying out, that not only their craft was in danger, but also the temple of the great Goddess Diana run the risk of being despised, and her magnificence destroyed.

The Magistrates endeavoured to put an end to the heart-burning which rankles in the mind of the inhabitants on account of the heavy exactions made on them for the support of the clergy. The last proposal of the Magistrates, after failing to procure a diminution of the burden on the inhabitants, by the reduction of the number of the city clergy, was to relieve them of the odious task of being their own tithe collectors, which had the effect of exciting in the minds of the parishioners

\* In the offence of raising the rents of the seats, I am personally pointed at by the Doctor as deserving the principal share of the obloquy. Upon what authority he makes his rash assertions I know not, but if he had considered facts of any consequence, and had inquired at the proper quarter, he would have found the charge in this instance resting on the same imaginary foundation as the others, for I was not a member of the committee who adjusted the seat rents, and merely, like the rest of the Council, acquiesced in the arrangements of that committee.

hostility to the ministers of religion, and through them to religion itself. For this purpose the Treasurer's committee made a laborious investigation into the probable produce of the clerical revenues for future years; the data on which they proceeded and their calculations were printed and furnished to the clergy, and what appeared a fair average struck, which the Magistrates proposed to pay to them directly from the city funds, and to have it secured by act of Parliament, by which arrangement they would have removed the clergy from all unpleasant collision with the citizens, injurious to themselves, and to the interests of religion. This was objected to by the ministers, because they thought that, by farming the annuity themselves, they had a better security for its being paid, and that they would draw a larger income from the tax than L. 500 a-year, the sum which the council calculated that the tax would yield in future.

Granting that the connexion of the church with the Town-Council has been followed with the deplorable effects so eloquently pourtrayed by Dr Chalmers,—granting the truth of his assertions, that the effect of this alliance has been to “pervert and paralyze the Church”—“to cripple and calumniate it”—“that it has struck with impotency the venerable institute which is now mared, disabled, and a spectacle of derision to the land”—granting that all these atrocities have proceeded from the civil partner in the firm, is it not wonderful that the injured, insulted, indignant, ecclesiastical partner never thinks of proposing a dissolution of the copartnery? Nothing appears so natural to a plain tradesman, than such a course, and, assuredly, it is the only one that will promote the peace and prosperity of both. I for one should be willing to dissolve on the most liberal terms; I would agree to make over the whole stock in trade to the ecclesiastical partner, on condition that no farther instalments should be called for from those who leave the concern. Gladly would I make over all the churches, steeples and bells, with all their appurtenances, to the partner who would continue to carry on the business, and advertise out.

But I deny that the evils have all flowed from the civic partner. The Church has long since lost its hold on the affections and confidence of the common people; that class which Dr Chalmers is so anxious to recall to its communion. Give them sittings in the Established churches cheap or altogether free, they will not return. Time was when the inhabitants looked up to their ministers as their counsellors and defenders, but that was when the ministers were not the instruments of the court, or a court faction, but defenders against the corruption and the Church Establishment of the court. The people have long had

to contemplate the ministers of the Establishment, not only subject but obsequious to the government that supported them ; and during the reign of terror, when despotic governments trenched upon the liberties of the subject, they had ground to believe that the clergy sympathized with their overbearing rulers, and encouraged them in all their despotic measures ; and in the late tremendous struggle between a nation determined to assert its rights, and an aristocracy resolute in withholding them, the clergy, with a few exceptions, have thrown their influence into the scale of corruption, and ranged themselves against the people. Even to the present hour, the ministers of the Establishment give their votes and their influence in favour of men whom the common people almost universally consider as the enemies of their rights and liberties.

In regard to religious matters, they have not failed to remark the indifference, which, with some bright exceptions, the Establishment has manifested, and the supercilious refusal of many of its ministers to co-operate with ministers and members of other denominations, for the advancement of objects of a benevolent and religious nature : they remember the disfavour which they at first showed to Sabbath schools,—the refusal of many of them to join with Christians of Dissenting communions in the Bible Society,—the coldness and dislike with which the Establishment regarded missionary exertions, till after standing all the day idle for very shame, they at last felt compelled to enter upon the work at the eleventh hour, and then in how feeble a way ! A facetious minister of the Church used to say, that the Church of Scotland's Mission put him in mind of a “ clocking hen wi' ae bird ;” while the poor and small body of Baptists have their missionaries widely spread among the heathen. I need not again refer to the state and conduct of the Church in the Highlands and destitute districts, nor to the undue superiority which the churchmen assume over other denominations of Christians. And when they see, coupled with this, the wealthy members of chapels of ease petitioning Parliament for State endowments, that they may throw their own burden on others, their alienation from the Church is confirmed, and their opposition strengthened.

But of all the evils that the church has inflicted on herself and on the community, her conduct in regard to the annuity tax is the most flagrant. Those who have endeavoured to get rid of it are reviled as robbers.\* The Professor of Divinity affirms, that,

\* Dr Chalmers says the city corporation “ took the whole produce of the annuity to themselves, and then made over but a fraction of it to the city clergy, and this act of taking one part of what belongs to the ministers for their own behoof, they call paying the other part out of the common good.”

Up to the passing of the act 1809, the ministers of Edinburgh were stipendiaries at the salaries fixed by the magistrates, and were at that time receiving L. 330 of fixed stipend. The annuity of 6 per cent. was legally chargeable on the *ancient* royal-



because the ministers have drawn the produce of this tax since 1810, they, therefore, have a vested right in it to the end of time. Now the argument appears to me not more cogent than this,—because a farmer in the Highlands had continued to pay Rob Roy black-mail for twenty five years, to which exaction he knew he would have to submit when he took his farm, Rob Roy and his successors have to the end of time acquired a vested right in this black mail. True, the one exaction was made under the guise of law; the other by avowed force. But a man is as much defrauded when money is abstracted from him wrongously by an unjust law, as when it is taken from him under the intimidation of violence. The slave who was by law subject to the taskmaster and the lash was bound to submit to that law, but the injustice perpetrated on the slave was not the less, because his masters had *made a law* to enslave and abuse him, and because this iniquitous law had existed for many years; and will the Professor of Divinity maintain that it is only the Magistrates who have inflicted this sore mischief on the church? \* The Magistrates endeavoured to mitigate the evil; but because the ministers suspected that this mitigation might be accompanied with a small diminution of their salary, and weaken their security, they preferred the chance of a larger sum with the odium

ty from 1661, and was levied and applied by the magistrates for general purposes, they making up the stipulated salaries to the ministers, whether their proper revenues yielded more or less than was requisite for their purpose. After the extension of the royalty over the New Town the magistrates likewise levied the annuity, over that district, though it is supposed without legal authority, and applied the proceeds to their own purposes. In 1809, under pretext of promoting the interests of religion, by providing a maintenance for the clergy, they procured an act authorizing them to collect this tax from the royalty as then extended; but that they never dreamt of its giving the clergy any right to the produce further than the payment of their previously fixed salaries, is proved by the determined litigation they carried on with the clergy.

No sooner, however, had the magistrates burnt their fingers in pulling the nuts out of the fire than the ministers, who never could be charged with remissness in looking after their pecuniary interests, soon discovered that the terms of the act warranted them to demand the whole proceeds of this tax, and, however they might differ and dispute on other subjects, orthodox and moderate joined cordially in wresting the whole from the town. The fact is, the citizens between the two may be said to have fallen amongst thieves who afterwards quarrelled about the spoil, but none of it was ever returned to the unfortunate sufferers, who are now denounced as impious robbers for endeavouring to get rid of the exaction.

\* Mr Bruce, in his lecture in favour of Establishments, informs us, that the Apostle Paul preferred to support himself by the labour of his hands, from his dislike to the Voluntary system, and insinuates that, if he could have persuaded the government to give him a legal provision, (such as the annuity tax for instance,) he would have rather taken his support from it. He has discovered that “we are not entitled to say, the Apostle would have been averse to accept of pay from the treasury, or of pay from the tithes, since, *unhappily for himself*, he was never tried in that fashion.” It is no uncommon mistake for very wise men to imagine that, had the control of events been in *their* hands, they could have ordered matters connected with the Kingdom of Christ in a better fashion than that to which the Apostles and first Christians were *unhappily* obliged to accommodate themselves.



against themselves and their cause, to a possibly diminished sum, with increased respect and conciliation.

I do not say that the Magistrates are free from blame, but in ecclesiastical arrangements I maintain that the clergy are the greatest offenders.

The Established Church has shown abundant zeal to secure her revenues and maintain her dignity, and is now agitating to extend her domination and to increase her exactions ; but the common people, whose eyes have been more intensely directed to the subject, are apt to suspect, that, if half as much zeal had been expended in the religious instruction of their parishes, Dr Chalmers would not have had to draw such an appalling picture of the mass of practical heathenism of the present day. Those of the Church who are wiser in their generation, descry more danger to the Establishment from the agitation of Professors of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History, and Reverend Doctors and bigoted churchmen, than from the price put on the seat rents by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and the overgrown size of the parishes.

I have now done ; and I trust that the candid inquirer will be satisfied, that, if “ the Establishment has been made powerless,” it is not altogether nor principally owing to the Magistracy ; that it is not *they* who have inflicted a sore degradation on the people, and a sore despoil upon the clergymen ; that “ the inefficiency of the Church in Edinburgh” is *not* “ altogether owing either to the craft or the enmity of our city rulers.”

I will not follow the example of Dr Chalmers, and endeavour to heap odium on the heads of individuals. The clergy of Edinburgh, as a body and as individuals, are entitled to the greatest respect. Of those whom I have the honour to know, it is impossible to speak too highly ; and, take them all in all, we shall not easily see their like. It is not they as individuals that are to be blamed, neither is it the Magistrates, but the unfortunate combination in which the parties are placed. Each pursuing their separate and appropriate duties would be most beneficial to the public interest, but no attempt to unite the heterogeneous materials can succeed. At the commencement of this tract, I have proved the injurious effects of the system on the thinly-peopled and destitute districts. Dr Chalmers has most vividly described its debasing and unchristianising effects on the dense population of large towns : As there are substances which, when taken separately, are salutary and nutritious, but in combination are deadly poison ; SUCH IS THE ALLIANCE OF CHURCH AND STATE.

“ How many souls are now unblest,  
Which else had died in peace and found eternal rest.”

## APPENDIX.

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### HIGHLAND MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

*Letter to the Rev. Dr DAVID DICKSON, the Rev. HENRY GREY, and the Rev. JOHN M'ALISTER, Ministers in Edinburgh. From the Caledonian Mercury, Nov. 12, 1832.*

ONE reason why I take the liberty of thus addressing you is, that you are members of the Highland Missionary Society : another, that you are ministers of the Church. In the former capacity, you have interfered with the concerns of my parish ; but it is the station you hold, and the obligations under which you lie in the latter capacity, which entitle me to single you out from the other members of that sectarian association.

It is but common justice to conclude, until you can prove the contrary, that I am interested in the spiritual instruction and improvement of my parishioners at least as much as you are ; and, were it only on the ground of lightening my own labour, you might concede that I feel as anxious to obtain for them, as you to supply, any additional means of religious instruction authorized by the word of God and the laws of our Church. Such at least are the sentiments with which ministers of the Church should regard their brethren. In August 1830, however, you, along with the other members of the Highland Missionary Society, commissioned an individual to preach the gospel in this parish, under the name of Catechist or Local Missionary, whom you besides appointed, without my knowledge or concurrence, and directed to hold himself responsible neither to Kirk-Session nor Presbytery, but only to yourselves. This man, before going into your service, was a tailor, perhaps as well educated as any other operative of that trade, and, for ought I know, may have borne a pious character ; but that he is unqualified to fill the awfully responsible office of a public expounder and preacher of the word, to which you have thought proper, I know not on what trial, to appoint him, it is not necessary for me to show, as long as the laws of the Church against lay preaching, which you, as members of a sectarian society, have so glaringly set at nought, remain upon her statute-book.

Before this emissary came to this parish, the teachers of the Gaelic School Society had, as you very well know, for a series of years, assumed the office of public expounders and exhorters, and of heads of parties hostile to the usefulness and influence of the parochial clergy ; and it was precisely at the time when their flagrant schisms and irregularities here and elsewhere, had been brought to the notice even of the General Assembly, and could no longer be endured, that your missionary stepped into office,—an office, be it observed, in discharge of which the teachers of the Society for Support of Gaelic Schools had been suffered to persist in opposition to the laws of their institution as well as of the Church, but which he was fully empowered by you to discharge without let or hindrance or local responsibility. Were it, therefore, your intention and that of the other members of the Highland Missionary Society to uphold and extend the schism occa-

sioned by the separatist practices of the Gaelic teachers, you could not have pitched upon a more fitting time or a fitter instrument.

The great number of the weak and ignorant persons who had been induced to absent themselves from public worship in the churches by the Gaelic teachers, and indeed brought into a state of bitter hostility to the parochial clergy, which totally incapacitated them for reaping benefit from their instructions, would, at least in this parish, it is highly probable, have gradually exuded the rankness of their sectarianism, and recovered a more suitable temper and happier frame of mind in respect to established ordinances. But, at the very time when the original authors of the schism were about to be removed, and a nucleus to retain its discordant elements in strength and consistence became wanting, your missionary supplied the deficiency—assumed the vacant station of leader and instructor of my schismatic parishioners—thereby kept up the combination, and continues to this hour to officiate with all the regularity and separatist zeal of the most proselytising dissenting preacher. If he has not succeeded in thinning our congregations, or in adding to the number of persons already prejudiced against stated ordinances, neither the other ministers who officiate in this parish nor I have any reason to thank the Highland Missionary Society, for certainly it has adopted a system and selected an instrument well calculated for the purpose.

Now, gentlemen, I beg leave to ask whether you consider your connection with an institution for the support of lay preachers, and which, as might be expected indeed from its principles, operates without the knowledge or concurrence of your brethren, in whose parishes it uplifts the banner of schism, to be reputable in ministers of the Church of Scotland : or are the tendency and results of the measures which, as members of such a body, you have set on foot, of which the case of my parish is but one illustration, in any manner consistent with the solemn obligations you came under as ministers, “to maintain the unity and peace of the Church against all error and schism whatsoever,” and “to adhere to the worship, discipline, and government of the Church, as founded on, and consonant to, the word of God.” Or, if you have thought lightly of, and have haply forgot these obligations, do you think that the Apostolic injunction to Christians “to stand fast in one spirit with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel,” is best put in practice by coalescing with Dissenters of every name and hue, in opposition to those with whom you either are or ought to be at one as to doctrine, discipline, and government, or whether another injunction of the same Apostle, that “with one mind and one mouth ye glorify God,” may most strictly be observed by employing instruments which Scripture and reason disapprove, the Universal Church disowns, and the Church of Scotland most expressly condemns—to the manifest detriment of the enginery of that Church of which you are sworn defenders, and from which you have received all your privileges.

Although it is with reluctance I allude to the statements of an association which, were it not that ministers of the Church are in its ranks, I would have left unnoticed, I may add that, in addition to interfering in the concerns of my parish with so great impropriety and bad effect, you have been instrumental, through the reports of the Highland Missionary Society, in representing its condition as most deplorable in respect to the means of religious instruction. In answer to this, I shall simply state that, in that part of this extensive parish in which your missionary operates, there are four ordained ministers of the Established Church in the constant discharge of their duties ; the parishioners have the advantage of hearing the word of God preached at six different stations, as well as of private catechetical instruction from their ministers, as the directory of our church requires ; that, besides, they enjoy the blessing of five ably taught week-day and

Sabbath schools, with several occasional ones during the winter months, along with that of one pious and efficient catechist, supported by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge ; while the poor man whom you have sent to relieve the wants of this destitute and neglected corner, so far from uniting with the instruments just mentioned, does, in fact, owing to the condition in which he is placed by the terms of his appointment, no less than he appears to do from inclination, act, so far as his influence extends, as an obstacle to their efficiency and usefulness.

In concluding, gentlemen, I have only to inform you, that I will not, if redress be in my power, permit you, or any ministers of this Church, from whom I am entitled to the most cordial and brotherly support, to throw obstacles in the way of my usefulness, and in that of your brethren who labour with me in this parish. You have already, I presume, been warned of the impropriety and disrespectableness of your connection with the Highland Missionary Society by the Presbytery of your bounds, who were informed of it two years ago by the Presbytery of which I am a member. I now again warn you, that if you do not at once free yourselves from all implication in the schemes of that schismatical association, I will (providing the Presbytery does not take up the case) have recourse to those ecclesiastical tribunals to which you are amenable, and whose will you must obey. It will then be seen whether the Church of Scotland will suffer you with impunity to set at nought her enactments, in direct contravention of the vows you have taken upon you as her ministers. At the same time, I conclude in charity that, notwithstanding the erroneousness of your views, and the incompatibility of your conduct with your duty in this matter, it is a zeal for religion by which you are actuated, and, so far from wishing to deprive my parishioners of the really beneficial operations of such zeal, I beg leave to assure you, that any additional means of religious instruction which the Word of God decidedly approves, and the church sanctions, with which you will supply them, shall meet with my grateful acceptance, hearty co-operation, and steady countenance. Disclaiming all feelings of personal animosity, and with sincere wishes for your happiness, respectability, and usefulness, I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

ANGUS M'LAINIE.

*Ardnamurchan Manse, 6th Nov. 1832.*

*Note.*—"The Highland Missionary Society has associated for the purpose of upholding a system of lay-preaching throughout the Highlands of Scotland. It selects for this purpose uneducated laymen, and has laid down two fundamental principles, one, to appoint its emissaries without the knowledge or concurrence of the ministers in whose parishes they officiate ; and another, that these emissaries shall hold themselves responsible to no local authority. There is thus a set of illiterate rivals to the parochial clergy put to work throughout the remote glens and islands of the Highlands, who commit what absurdities, preach what doctrines, and produce what mischiefs they may, are responsible only to a conclave of individuals resident in Edinburgh. Their doctrine as to ordinances seems to be, that for which the well known Mr MacLeod of Bracadale is under libel of his Presbytery, by order of Assembly, and the most remarkable effect of their teaching, is first, non-participation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and then absence from, and contempt for, the ordinary services of public worship. The man in my parish professed to be a member of the Church ; but being found daily violating its peace and unity, was summoned to our session, and, on intimating, after due time for reflection, his resolution to persist in his schism, was suspended from church privileges, a sentence from which he has not thought proper to appeal to any superior court.

"Allusion has been made to the teachers of the Society for support of



Gaelic Schools. For fuller information of such as may desire it, I subjoin the report of a Committee of Assembly appointed to investigate their schismatic conduct, which was just as scandalous throughout the whole Western Highlands as within the bounds of the Presbytery to which the report refers.

*“ Report of the Committee of Assembly appointed to consider the complaints of the Presbytery of Mull relative to Gaelic Teachers.*

“ By documents produced to the Committee, it appears, that, as early as the 16th and 18th of March 1830, full information regarding their disorderly and schismatic teachers was forwarded to the Society by an individual minister of the Presbytery, and by the Presbytery as a body in an official communication; and the opportunity thus afforded of putting a stop to the irregular and schismatic practices of their teachers during the interval betwixt the receipt of the above-mentioned communication and the sitting of the Assembly of 1830, not being embraced by the Directors, it fell to the Presbytery to set forth these practices in its school report to that Assembly. Your Committee have not been able to ascertain that any effective measures were resorted to during the succeeding twelve months on the part of the Directors; for by the report of the Presbytery to the Assembly in 1831, it appears that the teachers were proceeding unrestrained in all their irregularities. Your Committee have farther to state, that by the report of the Presbytery of 2d May to this Assembly, it would appear that the practices of the Gaelic teachers within its bounds had, instead of being suppressed, become still more irregular and disorderly since these practices had been represented to last Assembly; and that as late as February 1832, when their schools were examined, the schoolmasters stated, that they had not received even a simple notification from their employers that any charge or complaint had been made against them. Your Committee, when they consider the nature of the practices complained of by the Presbytery,—public expounding and exhorting to adult congregations regularly and statedly, and latterly in the open air (as has been stated by the Commissioners from the Presbytery of Mull) in different parts of the country at a distance from their own station,—non-attendance upon, and contempt for, stated ordinances, not only on the part of the teachers themselves, but on that of those over whom they acquired influence, as evinced in their habitual neglect of public worship in the parish churches—your Committee, when they reflect on the nature of these practices, are aware, that if they exist at all, they must be perfectly notorious and undeniable, and your Committee cannot forbear expressing their strong surprise, that the Directors of the Society for support of Gaelic schools should have delayed, on the first intimation, resorting to the most strict investigation into the grievances complained of, if the report of the Presbytery to themselves and to the Assembly was not (as your Committee considers it ought) sufficient evidence of the existence of these grievances, as well as that two years should have been suffered to elapse before any measures were set on foot calculated to suppress vigorously and promptly practices so pernicious in their consequences, and so subversive of the fundamental principles of the Society itself.

“ While your Committee conceive it to be their duty, in justice to the Presbytery of Mull, to state these circumstances, they have great pleasure in reporting, that the Gaelic School Society, in token of their disapprobation of the practices complained of, have, since the 15th of the present month, removed all teachers within the bounds of that Presbytery against whom complaints have been made; and that they have also intimated their resolution to issue a circular explaining their views, and that a copy of this circular shall be sent to each of their teachers, and to each parish minister



within whose bounds a teacher is stationed, that so it may be evident what the sentiments of the Society on the subject are, and that it is their intention strictly to confine their teachers to their own particular duties. The Committee earnestly hope, that in consequence of these proceedings on the part of the Society, no grounds of complaints shall hereafter arise."

It is gratifying, while we regret the misapplication of funds contributed by benevolent individuals for the advancement of religious education in the Highlands, to contemplate the admirable manner in which that great end is promoted, along with the useful and liberal knowledge of minor importance, by the schools of the General Assembly's Committee. These schools flourish under the patronage of the liberal and enlightened landed proprietors, the superintendence of the Presbyteries and parochial clergymen in the Highlands, and the control of the Committee itself, responsible to the Assembly. No institution in Scotland, not similarly circumstanced, is guarded by equal precautions against mismanagement, or is likely to be directed with so much wisdom. It has indeed already proved uncommonly successful.—A. M'L.

*Letter to the Rev. ANGUS M'LAINÉ, Minister of Ardnamurchan, Argyleshire. From the Caledonian Mercury, Dec. 15, 1832.*

I utterly disclaim having any personal grudge or animosity against you; but permit me to state my conviction, that you and some of your friends in the Western Highlands will require to furnish better proofs to the public of your zeal and activity for the promotion of the spiritual welfare of our countrymen, than annoying the members of different religious societies by your clamorous and reiterated charges against them. Were you to manifest the same zeal and activity in instructing the inhabitants of your scattered farms and villages, in the evangelical truths of the Gospel, as you are careful to maintain your civil rights as members of the National Church, I venture to say your charges and complaints against others who are desirous to promote the best interests of our countrymen, however they may differ from you in their views in accomplishing these objects, would be fewer, and breathing more of that charity which *hopeth all things, and endureth all things*.

As you have made a reference in your letter to the Gaelic School Society's teachers, who seem to have annoyed you and some of your brethren as much as your present *tailor*, I may state, that I knew two of these teachers when in Glenlyon. They were not in my district (for you must recollect I had not a parish), but in a neighbouring district. In the course of my experience in that quarter, I heard no complaints against them. On the contrary, they were much respected and beloved by the people among whom they laboured; and I had frequent opportunities of examining their principles and knowing their conduct, which, so far as I could learn, were in strict accordance with the standards of our Church. In my opinion, they were men of principle and men of peace—men who knew something of the evil nature of sin, the preciousness of Christ, and the value of his salvation—men who were heartily attached to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of Scotland—men who feared God, and were anxious above all things to promote the spiritual welfare of their fellow sinners. If they were schismatics, they manifested no such spirit in my neighbourhood, though repeated complaints have been urged against one of them who happened to be sent to your infested part of the Highlands, inasmuch so, that the Society found it necessary to remove him to another station.

In regard to your present catechist from the Highland Missionary Society, I know nothing of his principles or conduct, except what I gather from his journal, now before me, which appears to be written with intelligence, a specimen of which may not be uninteresting to those who do not know the field of his labour. "There are some of the people of Ardnamur-

chan and Sunart, that own they have been partakers of Church privileges in ignorance all their days, not discerning the thing signified ; and that they were not accustomed to hear of the absolute necessity of regeneration, until such time as the Gaelic School teachers, and such men, came among them ; but now they not only have heard such doctrines, but have also seen proofs of their influence in the lives and conversation of some of these men, which convinces them that there is something in godliness they never knew of before. Hence there is an eager desire among them to hear such men ; and in some instances they travel twelve or thirteen miles to our Sabbath meetings. There is a natural persuasion, at least, among them, that there must be a change of state and of heart, and of conversation, before they can have a well-grounded hope of eternal glory ; and some of them, we trust, have Christ formed in them the hope of glory, through the instrumentality of such means."

If there be truth in these sentiments, and I am bound to credit them till furnished with evidence to the contrary, then the spiritual instructions of these people are not what they ought to have been, and the note needs no comment from me, as it is the declaration of the people themselves. Believing, as I do, that the gospel is never preached in purity, when the enforcement of this cardinal doctrine of Christianity is either kept in the shade, or so explained as to leave the conviction in the mind of the hearers, that salvation may be attained without it ; and believing, as I do, that the gospel has not produced a saving effect in the minds of men, until they actually exhibit the fruits of regeneration in their lives and conversation, the declaration in the note is not a nonentity to my mind. Now that this end has been attained by some of the people in your bounds, according to their own acknowledgment, I care not whether this has been achieved by means of ministers or laymen, since the great end for which the gospel was delivered is accomplished ; and I shall always rejoice to hear, that its standard is so unfurled in your parish and others, that men may experience this saving change, without which *no man shall enter into the kingdom of God.*—

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Edinburgh, 10th Dec. 1832.

JOHN MACALISTER.

*Proposal by the Rev. DR CHALMERS and certain Subscribers, for the erection of a Church and Parish in the Cowgate.*

Edinburgh, 1st March 1834.

There are thirty individuals who have agreed to contribute L. 100 each, for the purchase of ground and the erection of a church in or near the Cowgate, capable of containing about 1000 sitters, to be offered to the Town-Council, on the following conditions :

1. That it shall be the church of a new parish in that part of the town, and on the same footing with the other parishes of Edinburgh, with a population not exceeding 2500 souls, and its minister, appointed to one of the vacant city livings, shall be on the same footing with the other Established clergymen of the city.

2. That the seat rents shall in the first instance, be upon a scale that even on the church being fully let, will not produce more than four per cent. to the subscribers for their money, over and above the sum of L. 30 a year for the creation of a repair fund, and such other annual sum, not exceeding L. 100, as might be sufficient for the payment of a precentor and beadle, and for meeting all other incidental charges.

3. The subscribers shall in no case receive more than four per cent. for their money ; but if it shall be afterwards found, that, without injury to the parochial attendance, the seat rents admit of being raised, that the augmentation shall only take place with the best seats, and shall not extend to more than one-third of the sittings in the church ; and that the whole pro-

duce of this augmentation (it being understood that the annual interest and other charges are first provided for) shall be expended on the support of a system of parochial schooling.

4. That a rigid preference for all vacant sittings shall be held forth, both at the commencement and on every future year, to those residing in the parish; after which, and when a sufficient time has elapsed for giving full and fair opportunity to the parishioners, any seats that remain untaken may be held forth to the general public.

5. That the Town-Council shall be pleased to grant the subscribers the first nomination of a minister for this church and parish, and that this power of nomination shall continue with them for ten years from the opening of the church, should a vacancy occur within that period.

6. That during this period of ten years, the subscribers shall have the management of all details relative to the business of seat letting, and other matters connected with the church and congregation.

7. That, at the conclusion of the period of ten years, the church shall be surrendered into the hands of the Town-Council, on their paying to the subscribers the original sums advanced by them, it being always understood that a repair fund, with the payment of precentor and beadle, and other incidental charges, shall be provided for in the manner already specified, and that both the methods and terms of seat letting, as fixed by the subscribers, shall continue to be observed by the Town-Council, as the unalienable right of the parish.

8. That, should the Town-Council not find it convenient to accept of the church on these terms at the expiry of a period of ten years, the management of the usual details shall rest as before with the subscribers, aye and until the transference of the church from their hands to those of the Town-Council shall have taken place.

*Report of the Committee of the Town-Council appointed to consider a Proposal by the Rev. Dr CHALMERS, and certain Subscribers for the erection of a Church and Parish in the Cowgate.*

In pursuance of the remit, your committee, on the 2d of March last, held a conference with the Rev. Dr Chalmers and a committee of subscribers, when the conditions upon which the new Church in the Cowgate was proposed to be built and offered to the Town-Council, were successively taken up and very fully discussed. On that occasion Dr Chalmers brought forward a supplementary condition, calculated to render the scheme more acceptable. But as he had not had an opportunity of submitting it to the subscribers for their approbation, he was not then prepared to lay it authoritatively before the committee. He has subsequently obtained for it the sanction of the subscribers. That supplementary condition is to the effect, that the proposed arrangement shall not preclude any such future enlargement of the new parish, as in any general division of parishes, might afterwards on other grounds be deemed reasonable or expedient.

Having given this general account of what took place at the conference, the committee now beg to submit to the Magistrates and Council their opinion upon the scheme for the formation of a parish and erection of a church in the Cowgate.

#### First Condition of the Scheme.

It does not appear advisable to comply with this condition, in so far as it proposes a restriction of the parish to 2500 souls. By the Parliamentary census of 1831, the population of the nine parishes composing the old town was 28,196; but by the operations of the Improvements Commissioners and other causes, it has been considerably diminished, and may now be stated at about 27,000, thus giving, on an average, 3000 for each parish. If a new parish is to be formed, it ought to consist of this average number, because such a parish should be one of a

*system*, and not insulated and placed in circumstances of greater favour than the other parishes of the old town. But if the first condition be complied with, either this locality must be more highly favoured than the rest, for which there seems no good reason in justice or expediency, or the whole of the old town must be parcelled out into parishes so small as to render the ecclesiastical establishment by much too burdensome on the community. The committee would therefore recommend that the proposed new parish should consist of not fewer than 3000 souls or thereabouts.

#### Second Condition.

If it were proposed for adoption as a principle applicable to all the city churches, that the seat rents should be upon a scale so low as, in a fully occupied church, would merely pay the interest of the money laid out in the building of it, and defraying the expence of repairs and other contingent charges, there could be no hesitation in saying that it ought not to be agreed to. But, in a plebeian district of the town, where every obstacle in the way of the inhabitants going to church should be removed, and where every facility should be given to the formation of an efficient and salutary system of parochial administration, the committee are humbly of opinion that this condition may be complied with. It will seen from the next condition that it is not intended that the seat rents should remain permanently and in all circumstances upon so low a scale.

#### Third Condition.

The Committee beg to recommend a cordial compliance with this condition. Any surplus that the seat rents may yield cannot be better applied than in supporting a system of parochial schooling, and no where is schooling for the poor more needed than in the locality of the proposed new parish.

#### Fourth Condition.

The Committee approve highly of the spirit and intendment of this condition. Their fear is, that it will be difficult to give that full effect to it which seems absolutely necessary not only to protect the interest of the parish itself, but also to prevent injury from being done to the other churches of the city, and without which, indeed, the proposed scheme of a new church and parish, would be pernicious. The reverend and distinguished originator of the proposal says, in the letter which accompanies it, that the object is "not to build up a new congregation at the expence of previous ones." "Our single aim," he goes on to say, "is to fill the proposed church with its own parish families; and in doing so we shall have to operate on altogether fresh and unbroken ground,—so that if we succeed we shall have a congregation formed out of entirely new materials." And he afterwards adds, "It is the very arduous character of the proposed achievement to collect a heretofore scattered population into one parochial community, which causes our intense solicitude respecting the appointment of the clergyman, and which also leads us to request that you will confide into our hands the management of certain specified details during the first ten years of our undertaking."

Such being the character given by Dr Chalmers of the materials to be worked upon, and such the length of time which he thinks requisite for the accomplishment of the scheme, it is but reasonable to suppose that not more than one-fourth, or, at most, one-third of the sittings in the parish church will, for the first year, be taken by the proper parish families. But the rest of the sittings will not be left unoccupied; for a popular minister and cheap seats will infallibly attract a full congregation, and this congregation will in a great measure be made up of drafts from the other city churches; and thus (to say nothing of the injury done to the city's revenue) the minister of the new parish will at once be subjected to the evil, so much complained of at present, of having his attention distracted from the pro-



per pastoral duties of his parish, by his care of a congregation consisting chiefly of families who do now reside within his parish. The greater part of the church being in this manner pre-occupied by strangers, little or no room will be left for those parishioners whom, in the course of his labours, the minister may bring back from the dissent or reclaim from practical heathenism; and thus the very object of the formation of a new church and parish will be frustrated. The committee are decidedly of opinion that some effectual means must be adopted to prevent the occurrence of such evils. They would take the liberty of suggesting that not only should higher seat rents be exacted from strangers, but that the whole of the seats occupied by them should, at the end of each year, be declared vacant, to the effect of enabling the proper parishioners to be fully accommodated in the first instance.

#### Fifth Condition.

Upon this condition, it may be observed, that it is not in the power of the Town-Council to delegate their right of patronage, nor, had they the power, could they bind their successors to delegate. They may present on the recommendation of the subscribers; but no further effect can be given to this condition, than that there shall be an honourable understanding that for ten years to come the Town-Council, on any vacancy occurring, will present a minister on the recommendation of the subscribers. At the conference the committee stated, that they would be satisfied with such an honourable understanding.

#### Sixth Condition.

The Committee are of opinion that this condition may be agreed to.

#### Seventh Condition.

This condition does not appear to be objectionable, except in so far as it proposes that both the methods and terms of seat letting, as fixed by the subscribers, shall be continued to be observed by the Town-Council, as the unalienable right of the parish. It is doubted whether the Town-Council have power legally to bind themselves and their successors to such a condition as this; but even if they had the power, it certainly would not be advisable to exert it. Who the subscribers all are, the committee do not know. Those of them who attended the conference are no doubt, gentlemen of high character, and, if the rest be equally respectable, the Town-Council might be warranted in trusting much to their discretion. But it would be to carry their confidence a blameable length, were the Town-Council beforehand to bind themselves and their successors to the observance, in perpetuity, of a set of regulations to be yet framed by any body of gentlemen, however respectable. No human sagacity can foresee all the changes that may yet take place in the character and condition of the population of Edinburgh; and the methods and terms of seat letting which might be very judicious and suitable to the proposed parish ten years hence, might be very unwise and inapplicable to the altered circumstances of the same parish, ten, or twenty, or a hundred years thereafter. All that the Town-Council can be reasonably expected to do is, to sanction an understanding that, after the church has been surrendered into their hands, the seat rents shall be continued by them and their successors, on a scale, so low as not to injure the church attendance of the parishioners.

#### Eighth and last condition.

This condition may be agreed to.

The Committee have now gone over and examined in their order the several conditions contained in Dr Chalmers' communication; and, in doing so, they have taken it for granted that the formation of a new church and parish in the Cowgate is desirable in itself, and is in harmony with the general ecclesiastical arrangements of the city. But these important questions still remain to be considered, Is it desirable in itself? And, if



it be so, will the general ecclesiastical arrangements of the city admit of its being carried into effect?

Upon the first of these questions there cannot be any doubt. The introduction of the parochial system into a plebeian and hitherto neglected district, under the auspices of the distinguished proposer of the scheme, and of a numerous and influential body of subscribers, would not only be of essential advantage to the district itself, but would, in all likelihood, afford to the other districts of the town an excellent example for imitation. The scheme ought therefore to be gone into, provided it be found practicable to do so consistently with the existing ecclesiastical arrangements of the city. Upon this point, however, the Committee are sorry to say they entertain considerable doubts.

If, as has been contemplated, the bounds of the city were to be extended so as to include the surrounding suburbs, there could be no difficulty in assigning to the subscribers their chosen locality, with such an addition to it as they have agreed to in their supplementary condition. But this extension of the city may not take place; and the Town-Council can safely deal with the proposal only on the supposition of things existing as they are. Now, it has been already mentioned that the nine parishes of the old town contain a population of about 27000, souls thus giving, on an average, 3000 to each parish,—a number which appears to the committee not to be unmanageably great. To create a tenth parish out of a population so limited would be inconsistent with an equitable allocation of parishes over the entire city, to say nothing of its being adverse to the resolutions already come to by the Town-Council. The only practicable way of accomplishing the object in view seems to be to make the proposed church come in place of one of the two parish churches which the city is under an obligation to build in the old town. The negotiation for bringing this about would require to be conducted with great skill and delicacy, and could not be entrusted to better hands than those of the eminent individual who has taken the lead in this matter. If such an arrangement, however, should fail to be accomplished, the committee are reluctantly compelled to report, that, all circumstances considered, they cannot recommend it to the Town-Council to adopt the proposal of the benevolent subscribers.

JAS. DONALDSON, *Conv.*

AN  
**EXPOSITION**  
OF THE  
**PRESENT STATE**  
OF THE  
**ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN EDINBURGH.**  
WITH  
SUGGESTIONS FOR INCREASING ITS EFFICIENCY.

BY  
**ROBERT JOHNSTON, JUN., W. S.**

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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When the following Sheets were prepared for the Press, it was intended to publish them anonymously. The advice however of several friends, who consider that the statements they contain would thus appear under some disadvantage, has induced the author to depart from his first intention, and to give his name.

SCOTLAND STREET.  
8th May, 1835.





AN  
EXPOSITION, &c.

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No one who is acquainted with the present controversy regarding National Establishments of Religion in this country, can have failed to remark, that the opponents of these Establishments draw their favourite and most effective illustrations from the present condition of the Church in Edinburgh. Her Endowments are set forth as unjust, oppressive, and altogether disproportionate to the duties she performs; and the Collegiate Charges and unlet seats are described as evidences of her utter inefficiency. The most exaggerated and distorted views have been circulated of her labours, and the results of her labours—of the evils in her condition, and the causes of these evils; and appeals have been made without number, from the pulpit, the platform, and the press, to the consciences, the self-interest, and even the worse passions of the community, for support, against the privileges and monopoly of the dominant Church.

In vindicating the Established Church in Edinburgh from these attacks, and in disabusing the minds of many well-meaning, but not well-instructed friends, we have no intention of pleading, that she *fully* accomplishes the proper objects of her Institution and Endowment. We admit, freely and distinctly, that there are many evils in her condition, which in various respects impair her usefulness. But we deny, and are prepared to disprove, that she is inefficient to the extent described by our opponents, or that the faults which exist in her administration proceed from her connection with the State; and we are likewise prepared to demonstrate, that the chief causes of her inefficiency, so far as it exists, have proceeded from an utter disregard of her privileges and design as an Endowed Church, by those who have administered her secular affairs. While, however, we maintain, and shall establish the irrelevancy of the faults and defects of the

Church in Edinburgh, when employed as an argument against Endowments, from a consideration of their origin and history,—we cannot be blind to the fact, that the Established Church has sustained considerable injury from the dissemination of the perverted views and fallacious principles of our opponents, which consist almost entirely of an argument against the principle of Establishments, drawn from observations limited to their present or their past accidental condition. That many have been beguiled by the theoretical plausibilities of the Voluntary system, and have been determined to the adoption of Voluntary opinions by a consideration of the present state of some Established Churches, and not of the soundness of the principles upon which their new opinions have been formed, must be evident, when it is remarked, that, wherever the Church is least endowed, that is where least public provision has been made for the Christian instruction of the community—there the growth of these fanciful opinions has been most rapid, even though, in many of these places, it could easily be shown that these Churches are inefficient, almost in exact proportion to the smallness and injudiciousness of the bounty of the State. It is an urgent and important duty to stop the progress of the alienation that has proceeded from these causes, and to restore, if it be possible, even those who have withdrawn, in her hour of weakness, to the love and service of that Church, from which has been derived almost all that is precious in our national character, and on the existence and prosperity of which mainly depend the blessings which are bestowed only upon the nations that call upon His name.

The friends of Endowments have nothing to fear from the fullest investigation into the condition of the Church. It is the interest of the cause they espouse, that whatever evils are discovered shall be removed, and that whatever defects are ascertained shall be supplied, so that the sound and everlasting principles which bind Civil Governments to spread and maintain religion among those over whom they rule, may appear in living operation to be conducive at once to the good order of society, and to the best interests of its members.

Limited as our object is to the condition of the Church in Edinburgh, we shall not enlarge upon the general arguments for Endowments. We deem that course the less necessary, because our chief aim is not to reclaim the Voluntaries, whose principles are not likely to be altered by the practical demonstrations we shall produce, but to unite all the friends of Endowments in the conviction, that the special circumstances of the Church of Edinburgh form no reason for inducing the least modification of their

opinions, but rather that they form a peculiarly strong argument for exertion, that the general principles they advocate may be more adequately exemplified, and more beneficially applied.

We assume, therefore, that it is the duty of the State to countenance and support the Church in her efforts to instruct the community in the true religion—that, in the performance of this duty, the best thing that can be done is to provide for the building of Churches and the support of Ministers, as well as of Schools and Teachers—that these Endowments ought to be so regulated, that the end which justifies their being granted may be accomplished—that they must be adequate, in order to their being efficient—that in proportion to the amount of the Endowments which is given by the Nation, the church-goer ought to be relieved of the expense of religious instruction—and that, though the independence of the Church ought never to be infringed upon, the State may judge and determine as to the application of the Endowment, to the effect that the State is responsible for its proper application, and that therefore it may remonstrate and advise with the Church, in order to the fulfilment of its corresponding duties.

Assuming that the soundness of these positions has been demonstrated, as they have been in almost every publication upon the subject, and keeping them steadily before us through the progress of our remarks, we shall now enter upon a more limited field of investigation. I. We shall lay before our readers a view of the leading facts in the present external condition of the Established Church in Edinburgh. II. We shall inquire into the causes of the evils which may be discovered in the condition of the Church; and in the course of this inquiry it will be seen, that they consist chiefly in her being administered, notwithstanding her Endowments, upon the principle, and with a view to the subordinate and secular objects of Voluntary Churches. And III. We shall offer some suggestions for removing these evils and encreasing the efficiency of the Established Church, so that its presence and operations may be felt by the body of the people to be a great blessing.

I. According to this method, we shall now inquire into the leading facts of the condition of the Established Church in Edinburgh; and we shall find as we advance, that with the results of this examination before us we shall be better able to judge whether she has enjoyed all the advantages of a well regulated Endowment,—whether, or how far she has incurred the responsibility of these advantages,—and how far the defects that may be discovered

arise from the State, understanding by that term any power exterior to the Church, failing to fulfil the conditions incumbent upon it on her behalf. So peculiarly situated is the Establishment in Edinburgh, that it is not possible to know thoroughly what its condition really is, unless it be considered in comparison with the Voluntary Churches, the management of the greater number of which is conducted upon similar principles; and as such a comparison will facilitate the development of our ulterior views in a more perfect form, we shall not confine ourselves simply to the state of the Established Church, but, so far as the materials within our power may enable us, shall present a comparative view of the Attendance, Seat Rents, and Collections in the City and in the Dissenting Churches. Of course, every thing connected with the management of the City Churches is open to the public.

1. About twelve months ago, a Return was moved for, in the Town Council by Treasurer Black, of the Let and Unlet Seats in all the Churches and Chapels in Edinburgh and Leith, except the City Churches, returns from the latter being already before the Council, with an account of the Rents of the Seats and the amount of their Collections. Of the forty-five Dissenting Chapels in Edinburgh, using the description *in its largest acceptance*, only twenty-six complied with the request. Of these twenty-six returns, only twelve represented the Attendance on Churches in which it was the *rule* to let the seats, and in which the free seats, where they existed, formed the *exception*. The others either communicated no information as to their seat-rents, and number of let seats, or related to Churches where the seats were all free, or where at least only a small number were let. In these cases the Managers of the Churches themselves had no certain means of ascertaining the number in regular attendance; and it is plain that it would be impossible to institute a full and satisfactory comparison betwixt them and the Town Churches, in which there is scarcely any free accommodation. But there remained twelve complete returns, including the whole of the Secession Churches, which are decidedly better filled than those of any other Dissenting body, except the Roman Catholics.

If we were to select twelve Dissenting Churches, it might be impossible to remove the impression even of impartial opponents that our selection was influenced by party views. It is therefore peculiarly fortunate that the Dissenters have sent up to the Town Council *only* twelve returns of Churches which *can* be compared with those of the City, affording, as they do, also about an equal amount of Accommodation. Of the fairness

of the comparison, our readers will be enabled to judge by a detailed statement of the attendance in the whole Dissenting Churches, which we shall afterwards produce in support of our general argument. It must be evident that the twelve referred to are not brought forward as the best or the worst attended, but as affording, from the circumstance of their *official* authority, the only unquestionable materials for a full and just comparison, and as exhibiting a fair, or rather a favourable average of the attendance on *all* the Dissenting Churches. If the twelve *best* filled Dissenting places of worship had been compared with the whole let City Churches, it must be self-evident that the comparison would not have been a fair one.

The returns of the Dissenters refer to the years 1832-3, while the attendance in the City Churches is ascertained by the number of let and unlet seats in the end of May 1834, before Mr Sym was appointed to the Old Greyfriars. As the Dissenters let their sittings by the *half*-year, it must obviously be necessary, in order to a fair comparison, to take the sittings in the City Churches as they are let or unlet about the middle of the year, which commences at Martinmas; and therefore we have not made use of the recent returns of the City Churches for the *present* year. The Old Church is not included, because last year there being no seat-rents levied from it, and its accommodation being removed to the Hall of the High School, at a most inconvenient distance from the parish, or indeed from any population, we think that it cannot be taken into account in our present comparison. It is well enough known that that Hall was very ill attended.\*

Before proceeding farther, it is necessary that we should explain our idea of the accommodation in the Established Churches. There are five of them that contain large pillars which obscure a certain number of sittings from the pulpit. These obscured sittings are almost all unlet; but as the Minister cannot be seen, and must be imperfectly heard in them, it is plain that no argument against the popularity or efficiency of the Church can be founded upon the number of unlet sittings, so far as they consist of seats like these, either absolutely or in a comparison with Churches where there are no such incommodious seats. There is, besides, an additional number of sittings exceedingly inconvenient; but as it is not so easy to ascertain their number, we shall not make any deduction from the accommodation on that account, though we shall make a deduction for them here-

\* See Note A.



after from the unlet seats. The number of the seats behind the pillars is stated on the authority of a Report which has just been made by the City Superintendant to the Town Council, and we attach no importance to the allegation of some people, that it is easy for a person, whose head is some six or nine inches within the line of obscurity, by shifting a very little, to see the pulpit perfectly; because it is as plain as any thing can possibly be, that where any person is just within that line, he cannot turn his head from behind the pillar without encroaching upon his neighbour's accommodation, and affecting his comfort. If there were no prejudices to be overcome, it would not be difficult to convince any body, that if there should be any seats at all behind pillars, there should at least be no rent charged for them.

As in addition to the circumstance that the full Dissenting Returns equal the number of the existing Established Churches—eight of these Returns belong to Churches in the Old, and four of them to Churches in the New Town, which are the numbers also of the City Churches in the Old and New Town respectively, we shall avail ourselves of this facility for instituting a more detailed comparison, and thereby answering some objections which have been made to the state of the Old Town Churches. The let seats, of course, include all that are paid for, and therefore those of the Hospitals do not appear among the free seats.

TABLE OF ACCOMMODATION, &c. IN THE EIGHT OLD TOWN CITY CHURCHES.

	<i>Accommodation.</i>	<i>Let.</i>	<i>Free.</i>	<i>Unlet.</i>
High Church	1435			
Behind Pillars	200 — 1235	845	158	232
West St Giles'	1392			
Behind Pillars	203 — 1189	779	150	260
New Greyfriars'	1275			
Behind Pillars	147 — 1128	678	26	424
Old Greyfriars'	960			
Behind Pillars	182 — 778	359	102	317
Trinity College	705			
Behind Pillars	108 — 597	488	24	85
New North	1276	1159	32	85
Tron	786	324	84	378
Lady Yester's	1114	372	213	529
Total	8103	5004	789	2310

TABLE OF THE EIGHT DISSENTING CHURCHES IN THE  
OLD TOWN.

	Accommodation.	Let.	Free.	Unlet.
Nicolson Street Chapel	1140	938		202
Bristo do.	1706	1423	116	164
Cowgate do.	1792	810		982
Portsburgh do.	832	660		172
Potterrow do.	881	495		386
Lothian Road do.	1300	867		433
* Nicolson Square do.	1248	324	192	732
† Mr Aikman's do.	1000	330		670
Total,	9899	5847	308	3741

Now, as out of 7314, which is exclusive of the free, the entire number of sittings in the Old Town City Churches, there are 5004 sittings let, the proportion of 9591 being exclusive of the free, the entire number of the sittings in the eight Old Town Dissenting Churches which should be let is 6561, but there are only 5847, that is, in proportion to the accommodations, these eight Dissenting Churches have 714 *more unlet* seats than these eight Old Town City Churches. But though this brings out a result favourable to the Church, it is entitled to a result still more favourable. The free sittings have not been taken into account. But they ought to be added to the let seats in both cases. 1. Because, in point of fact, many free seats are included in the Dissenting Returns in the let seats. From these eight Returns only two show *any* free seats; but, as in the other six churches there must be free seats at least for the minister, if not also for the elders, and as we do not imagine that these are included in the unlet seats, our only resource is to consider them as included among the let seats. 2. Because it is the practice in the most of these Dissenting Churches, out of their funds for the poor, to supply poor persons

\* See Note B.

† There is something in the return of this church which we do not understand. It bears that there were 330 sittings let, 350 free, and 320 unlet. Now the return was ordered for a period when Mr Aikman was minister, and in his lifetime there were *no free seats*. By a trust-deed of Mr Aikman, which did not take effect till after his death, it was provided that one-third of the seats should be kept constantly free, and yet the Return referring to the deed as its authority, puts down one-third as free seats. It was thought, perhaps, that the ugly fact of 670 unlet seats in an Independent church might be disguised; but we take the liberty of stating the fact correctly. Does Treasurer Black know nothing of this Return?

with money to pay for their seats, and these seats, though in the proper sense *free*, are, of course, reckoned among the let seats; though, as there is no such practice in the Church, if the free seats are not added to the let, the Dissenting Churches would appear to have a greater number of let, as contrasted with the free and unlet, than the Church would have; and, 3. Because we believe, from the best inquiry we can make, that there are no seats better occupied in the Church than these free seats.

By adding, then, the free to the let seats in the Church, that is 789 to 5004, we have 5793 let and free, out of 8103; and if we add the free to the let seats in these Dissenting Churches, that is 308 to 5847, we have 6155 let and free out of 9899, or only 362 more than are let and free in the Church, though the former have 1796 more sittings than the latter. And if the let and free in the Church be 5793, in proportion to the accommodation, the let and free in the Dissenting Churches, instead of being 6155, should be 7076, or 921 more sittings must be let before, in proportion to the accommodation, these eight Dissenting Churches shall equal the Church. It should be remembered, that the state of these City Churches has furnished to the Voluntaries their strongest arguments against the usefulness of the Church in Edinburgh.

TABLE OF ACCOMMODATION, &c. IN THE FOUR NEW TOWN CITY CHURCHES.

	<i>Accommodation.</i>	<i>Let.</i>	<i>Free.</i>	<i>Unlet.</i>
St Andrew's	1073	460	30	583
St George's	1664	1504	30	130
St Mary's	1672	991	80	601
St Stephen's	1693	1651	24	18
Total,	6102	4606	164	1332

TABLE OF ACCOMMODATION, &c. IN THE FOUR NEW TOWN DISSENTING CHURCHES.

	<i>Accommodation.</i>	<i>Let.</i>	<i>Free.</i>	<i>Unlet.</i>
Broughton Place	1598	1448	—	150
Albany Street Chapel	886	300	88	498
Stockbridge	1100	600	200	300
Rose Street	1330	1231	25	74
Total,	4914	3579	313	1022

And as out of 5938, being exclusive of the free, the entire number of sittings in the New Town City Churches there are 4606 sittings let, and 1332 unlet, so, of 4601, being exclusive of the free, the entire number of sittings in the four Dissenting Churches there, the proportion of theirs which ought to be let is 3569, and 1032 unlet; but they have 3579 let, and only 1022 unlet, that is, they have 10 sittings more let, and 10 fewer unlet, than these four City Churches in proportion. This is the only point in the whole comparison where the Dissenters have an apparent superiority. The superiority is however only apparent, for it is to be remarked, that in the New Town City Churches, the 164 free seats are regularly occupied by the ministers, elders, and school in St Mary's, while the most of the 313 free seats in these four Dissenting Churches, viz., those in Stockbridge are very ill occupied, and if the rule of occupation were applied to the free seats, and those not occupied added to the unlet, the result would, as heretofore, be in favour of the Church. We must also remind our readers of the practice we have referred to as existing in the Old Town Dissenting Churches, of paying seat rents for the poor, and thus swelling the number of the *apparently let*, while the Church has no compensating advantage. As these rents are paid not by the sitters, but by the receiver of the collections to the receiver of the seat rents, which is the same thing as no payment at all to the Church, they ought to be reckoned as free seats. It is worthy of remark, that in the New Town, and away from the poorer districts, the Dissenters tread much more closely upon the heels of the Church than in the Old Town. If the Established places of worship are worse attended in the Old than in the New Town, we believe that the case is the same with the Dissenters.

We shall now add another Table, exhibiting a comparative state of the twelve City Churches and the twelve Dissenting Churches.

	<i>Accommodation.</i>	<i>Let.</i>	<i>Free.</i>	<i>Unlet.</i>
8 Old Town City Churches	8103	5004	789	2310
4 New Town do.	6102	4606	164	1332
Total,	14,205	9610	953	3642

	<i>Accommodation.</i>	<i>Let.</i>	<i>Free.</i>	<i>Unlet.</i>
8 Old Town Dissenting Churches	9899	5847	308	3741
4 New Town do.	4914	3579	313	1022
Total,	14,813	9426	621	4763

From these Tables it appears that there are 14,205 sittings in the twelve City Churches, and 14,813 in the twelve Dissenting Churches. In the Church, of 13,252, exclusive of the free seats, 9610 sittings are let, and 3642 unlet; and if the let and unlet sittings among the Dissenters were the same in proportion to the accommodation (14,192, exclusive of the free seats,) there would be 10,292 sittings let, and 3900 unlet; but there are only 9426 let, and 4763 unlet,—that is, the Dissenters have 863 more unlet than the twelve City Churches, in proportion to their respective accommodations. It also appears, that though the Dissenters have 608 *more* sittings than the City Churches, they have 184 *fewer* sittings let. The addition of the *free* to the let sittings in both cases, will produce a result still more indicative of the superiority of the City Churches.

In these statements, we have taken no notice of the seats which are occupied but not paid for, because the Dissenters allege that this practice exists even in their churches; and we are not in possession of any *data* for determining with accuracy the number that may thus be occupied. We have not, therefore, included them in our comparison; but before leaving the fact which is before us, that in the twelve City Churches, after those obscured by the pillars have been withdrawn, there remain 3642 unlet and unpaid sittings, it is of importance to explain how far they may be reckoned good accommodation, and to what extent they are probably occupied.\*

All who have sat in any of the churches, some seats in which

\* Since this passage went to press, we have ascertained that the number of sittings in the pews, partially or wholly obscured by the pillars in the High, West St Giles', New Greyfriars, Old Greyfriars, and College Churches, is 2055, of which 840 are wholly obscured, and have therefore been deducted from the accommodation in our previous tables. Not only is there scarcely an instance of any of these 840 sittings being let, but even the remaining 1215 sittings, though the pillars do not directly intercept their view of the pulpit, are very much worse let than any others from the cause already mentioned. As a proof of this, we may state, that there appears to be at present unlet in the Old Greyfriars' Church 417 sittings. In that place of worship, there are 424 sittings in pews more or less obscured by the pillars—and of the 417 at present unlet, 291 are in these pews, leaving only 126, most of which are in remote and inconvenient situations. In the face of such evidence, and indeed of all evidence, our perverse opponents will insist that these 2055 sittings are as good as any others, and will still ring the changes on the 5000 unlet seats, as an argument against the Church, though it includes these 2055, at least 1500 of which are unlet—some hundreds of other bad seats, which no man will take who can any where else get better—500 which have been obtained in the Assembly aisle within these few months; and this,



are obstructed by pillars, are perfectly aware that there are many more sittings which might have been deducted, from which the minister cannot be heard, or which are otherwise exceedingly uncomfortable. With a very few exceptions, this is applicable to the unlet sittings in the Trinity College, and also to a large proportion of the unlet seats in the High Church, West St Giles, and Old and New Greyfriars. The pews, also, that contain sittings obstructed by pillars, it must be obvious, are next to those sittings the worst let, from the apprehension of being compelled to occupy the latter. The only way of getting the better sittings in such pews readily let, is to leave the sittings behind the pillars unlet. It is absurd, surely, to make it an objection to the Established Church, that those seats are unlet, while in the Dissenting Churches so much better accommodation is provided for the sitters than is provided by the Town Council for the frequenters of the City Churches. We have no hesitation in stating it as our opinion, that 500 sittings at least ought to be deducted, for these reasons, from the whole number of unlet seats, including the overlet sittings in pews occupied by more than one family, thus leaving 3142 unlet seats.

We do not doubt, that, in some of the Dissenting Churches, the Managers are annoyed by a number of people occupying seats without paying any rent; but vigilant as we know they are in preventing it, and they are perfectly entitled to be so, considering that it is by the seat-rents that they must expect chiefly to pay the stipend and their debt, we are satisfied that the practice prevails to a far greater extent in the City Churches. It is a very general popular impression, that Established Churches ought to be free; and this impression has been partly the consequence of the long-formed habits of a large proportion of the great yearly influx of population from the country into Edinburgh—it has been strengthened by the idea that the payment of the Annuity entitles the people to seats in the churches;—and in fact there is a very great number of the unlet sittings occupied in this way. The number of members in regular communion with the congregations of West St Giles' and New Greyfriars', exclusive of the schools, exceeds, and in St Mary's they almost equal the number of the let sittings; in the Tron and Lady Yester's they exceed the whole number of let sittings; and

notwithstanding their admission, when it suited their purpose, that 1000 of them, though unlet, are yet occupied. In spite of these, and a multitude of other explanations which might be given, they point to the fact of the 5000 unlet seats as conclusive against the utility of the Establishment!

in other churches their proportion very much exceeds the proportion in those churches which are fully let. On these grounds, therefore, and from the information of many, whose knowledge of the fact may be relied on, we believe that in St Mary's and West St Giles' 500 of the unlet sittings ought to be reckoned as occupied—and that in St Andrew's, High Church, Tron, Lady Yester's, with Old and New Greyfriars, on a *moderate* computation, there are, on an average, from 100 to 150 in each of the same description. There ought, then, to be at least 1200 deducted from the former number of 3142 unlet sittings, as they are occupied, *leaving only 1942 good sittings unoccupied and unlet,—that is not one-seventh of the whole seats*; and as it has been admitted, in statements published or circulated by our opponents, that 10 per cent. may be added, on an average, to the let sittings in the Established and Dissenting Churches, as being occupied, which would, in regard to the former, amount to little more than 200 less than we have stated, we think that our deduction may be allowed, even by them, not to be very unreasonable. When the unoccupied and unlet good sittings are thus reduced to so small a proportion of the whole, the friends of the Church may, with great propriety, looking to the importance attached to the circumstance of unlet seats by their opponents, point to the much greater proportion of such sittings in their own churches.\*

As however we have only intended, in making these deductions, to guard against unwarrantable inferences being drawn from the number of seats appearing to be unlet, and as, of course, if the occupied sittings in the City Churches are to be reckoned as let, a similar rule ought to be applied to the Dissenting Churches, which we have not the means of doing with any accuracy, we shall prefer throwing these deductions out of view altogether in our remaining comparisons.

2. The Dissenting Churches which we have compared with the City Churches are, some of them, situated in St Cuthbert's parish, while the rest are within the Royalty. We shall now compare the Churches in connexion with the Establishment with all the Dissenting Churches *in the Royalty* separately; and then we shall contrast those in St Cuthbert's parish. Our readers will perceive, during our progress, that we have been justified in considering that the twelve Dissenting Churches present a rather favourable average of the whole, and that the Church is, with all

\* See Note C.

the disadvantages which we shall set forth, at this moment more prosperous than the Dissenters. Though these details regarding the other Churches in the City and St Cuthbert's are, for the most part, not derived from official documents, we are satisfied, from the exertions we have made to ascertain their true condition, that they will be found to afford as near an approximation to the truth as can be obtained without official returns from each of the churches. Our information in regard to the Dissenting Churches which did not give in Returns, relates to the *Attendance*, and not to the number of let seats, leaving no room, therefore, for any addition on account of mere occupation without payment. It is important to exhibit a distinct view of the proportions of these bodies within the Royalty where the Annuity is paid. The population of the Royalty was, in 1831, about 55,000.

TABLE OF CHURCHES IN CONNECTION WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT WITHIN THE ROYALTY.

	<i>Accommodation.</i>	<i>Let &amp; Free.</i>	<i>Unlet.</i>
In the twelve City Churches,			
as already stated, . . .	14,205	10,563	3642
Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, say	1,500	1,250	250
Gaelic Chapel, per Return to			
the Town Council,	1,120	860	260
Total,	<u>16,825</u>	<u>12,673</u>	<u>4152</u>

This shows the whole Accommodation with the let and unlet seats in the Established Church within the Royalty.

The following Table includes all the Dissenting Chapels within the Royalty—the first column exhibiting the entire number of sittings in each church; the second column showing the number of *let*, and the third column the *unlet* seats in all the Dissenting Churches in the Royalty, from the returns where they were given, and from the best information we could obtain where the returns were wanting; and the last column affording an important element of additional information, as it indicates the number of let seats in those Churches which belong to bodies notoriously as *bodies* attached to the principle of Establishments.

## TABLE OF DISSENTING CHURCHES WITHIN THE ROYALTY.

The Statements of Accommodation, or of Unlet Seats, marked thus, \* are made on the authority of the Returns to the Town Council. The others gave in no Returns, and the number of Sitzings belonging to them is stated on the authority of the Rev. Patrick Clason's Pamphlet on Chapels.

	<i>Accommo- dation.</i>	<i>Let per infor.</i>	<i>Unl. per infor.</i>	<i>Fav. Est.</i>
Carrubber's Close, (Episcopal)	400	250	150	250
Do. Mr Tait's, . . . .	300	150	150	150
Glassites, . . . .	300	200	100	
Infirmary St. (Old Secession)	1400	900	500	900
Berean, . . . .	100*	50	50	
Mr Aikman's, (Independent)	1000*	330	670*	
South Gray's Close, (Old Sec.)	400	300	100	300
Cowgate, (U. Secession)	1792*	810	982*	
Blackfriars', (Rom. Catholic)	300	300	—	
Rose Street, (Secession) .	1330*	1256	74*	
St George's Chapel, (Episcopal)	644*	494	150	494
Thistle Street, (New Jerusalem)	70	40	30	
Clyde Street Hall, (Baptist)	200*	50	150	
Albany St. Chap. (Independent)	886*	388	498*	
St Paul's Do. (Episcopal)	1039*	600	439	600
Young Street (Unitarian)	250*	150	100	
Rose Street, (Baptist) .	775*	400	375	
St John's Chapel, (Episcopal)	773*	600	173	
Heriot's Bridge, (Methodist)	548*	300	248*	
James' Court, (Do.) .	350*	200	150	
Greenside, (Baptist) .	950*	400	550	
Calton Convening-Room,	400*	150	250	150
Total,	14,207	8318	5889	3444

These comparative Tables suggest the following remarks:—

(1.) The accommodation in connection with the Establishment within the Royalty is 16,825 sittings; while the Dissenters have only 14,207.

(2.) While the Established Churches in the Royalty have 12,673 let and free sittings, the Dissenters have only 8318.

(3.) Deducting from these 8318 let and free sittings 3444, which are in churches belonging to *bodies* attached to National endowments of religion, there remain only 4874 sitters in Dissenting Churches within the Royalty; while, by adding these 3444 to the 12,673 let and free in the Established Churches, there are 16,117 in the churches within the Royalty belonging to *bodies* favourable to Establishments, and only 4880 which are not.

(4.) These 16,117 sitters represent 32,000 persons who are

favourable to Establishments, being an absolute majority of the whole population of 55,000 in the Royalty. We do not, however, make this statement as indicating the actual number of church-goers among the inhabitants of the city.

(5.) Adding together the sitters within the Establishment and among the Dissenters in the Royalty, we have 20,991, which seems to show that 41,982 in the Royalty attend church, while 13,000 do not. This inference proceeds on the assumption, that, if there are any in the Royalty who go to churches in St Cuthbert's, a proportionate number come from St Cuthbert's to the Royalty, which is justified by the fact, that there are more let sittings in the Royalty than in St Cuthbert's, in proportion to the population. If the actual state of church attendance in the Royalty, and the increase of the population since the census in 1831, were ascertained, we are certain that the deficiency of pastoral superintendence would appear very much greater. We shall, however, immediately show, though we have not the full advantage of that information—that the inference here drawn is far below the truth.

(6.) Holding what is implied in the nature, and essential to the efficiency of an Established Church, that it is the duty of the State to provide and secure Christian instruction *for all*, then, as there are only 14,205 sittings in the Endowed Established Churches in the Royalty, corresponding with about 28,000, there is 27,000 unprovided for; and even including Lady Glenorchy's and the Gaelic Chapels, (the accommodation of which is not permanently available to the community, as they are only *private* churches, and will continue so until they are endowed), there are still 23,000 not provided for.

(7.) *Supposing* that it is not the duty of the State to provide Christian instruction for all, but merely for those who have not declared themselves Dissenters, nor provide Christian instruction for themselves, it appears then that the accommodation in the City Churches, as formerly, added not to the accommodation, but to the let sittings, in the Chapels of Ease (2110), and Dissenting Churches (8318), make 24,633, which, corresponding with a population of about 50,000, leaves 5000 unprovided for.

There has been no allowance made, in any of these statements, on account of the quality of the accommodation, or other temporary and accidental causes of the unlet seats.

3. We shall now examine the condition of St Cuthbert's parish, as exhibited in Tables similar to those which have been submitted in regard to the Royalty.

Not having the means of discovering precisely the number of



let and unlet sittings in St Cuthbert's parish Church and Chapels, we can only attempt an approximation. The population of St Cuthbert's was, in 1831, about 71,000.

TABLE OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS CONNECTED WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT IN ST CUTHBERT'S PARISH

	<i>Accommodation.</i>	<i>Let and Free.</i>	<i>Unlet.</i>
St Cuthbert's Church, .	2408	2000	408
Chapel, .	1350	800	550
Hope Park, . . .	1788	1400	388
Stockbridge, . . .	1350	1300	50
Gardner's Crescent, .	1322	900	422
Roxburgh Place, . .	850	650	200
Total, . . . . .	9068	7050	2018

TABLE OF DISSENTING CHAPELS IN ST CUTHBERT'S.

The Statements of Accommodation, or of Unlet Seats, marked thus,\* are made on the authority of the Returns to the Town Council. The others gave in no Returns.

	<i>Accommodation.</i>	<i>Let per infor.</i>	<i>Unlet per infor.</i>	<i>Fav. Est.</i>
Cameronians, . . .	1200	800	400	800
Broughton Pl., (U. Seces.)	1598*	1448	150*	
Nicolson Street, (Do.)	1140*	938	202*	
Bristo, (Do.)	1706*	1545	161*	
Portsburgh, (Do.)	832*	660	172*	
Potterrow, (Do.)	881*	495	386*	
Lothian Road, (Do.)	1300*	867	433*	
Stockbridge, (Do.)	1100*	800	300*	
Richmond St. (Old Seces.)	950	600	350	600
College Street, (Relief)	1800	1800	—	
James's Place, (Do.)	1100	720	380	
Bread Street, (Do.)	1600	1200	400	
Roxburgh Ter. (Do.)	300	225	75	
Brighton Street, (Do.)	1500	700	800	
St Peter's, (Episcopal) .	400*	250	150	250
St James's, (Do.) .	820	670	150	670
Roman Catholic Chapel,	1400	1400	—	
Richmond Court, .	500	250	250	
Elder Sreet, (Baptist) .	480*	330	150	
Pleasance, (Do.) .	800*	450	350	
Nicolson Sq. (Methodist)	1248*	516	732*	
Quakers, Pleasance, .	350	230	120	
Synagogue, . . . .	100	60	40	
Total, . . . . .	23,105	16,954	6151	2320

(1.) The first remark we shall offer upon these Tables is, that the accommodation in connection with the Establishment is 9068 sittings, while the Dissenters have provided 23,105.

(2.) In proportion to the number of sittings, there are fewer unlet in the Established than in the Dissenting Churches; but as the difference is not very considerable, and as the results, to a certain extent, are conjectural, we build no argument upon it.

(3.) As in the Royalty, where the endowments are large, and the accommodation provided by them very considerable, the accommodation in the Establishment at once greatly exceeds that of the Dissenters, and is much better let; so here where the endowments are confined to one Church, the Dissenters have comparatively provided much more accommodation.

(4.) While thus in St Cuthbert's, the Dissenters and the Church reverse the positions they occupy in the Royalty, the accommodation provided by *both* is less in proportion to the population than is provided in the Royalty. There the accommodation in the Church, and the let and free sittings among the Dissenters, corresponded with about 50,000, leaving 5000, or *one eleventh*, not provided for, while here the *accommodation* in the parish Church, and the let and free sittings in the Chapels of Ease and the Dissenting Chapels being added, give about 24,450, representing about 50,000 of the population, and leaving 21,000, or *two-sevenths*, not provided for. The inference from these results is, that by a Church Establishment, with its Parochial system, better provision is made both for the accommodation and for the attendance of the population than is done by mere Voluntary exertions. These exertions have never succeeded in forming a whole population to church-going habits which a Church Establishment has done, as is illustrated in the beautiful condition of many of our Country Parishes, where the peculiar obstructions which exist in Edinburgh do not limit its advantages and destroy its influence.

(5.) Though there appear from the last Table to be 16,954 Dissenters in St Cuthbert's, 2320 must be deducted, as belonging to *bodies* holding the duty of National Church Endowments, leaving 14,634; and if from these 14,634 sittings be deducted the Roman Catholics and Jews, being 1460, there remain 13,174 who hold the same fundamental doctrines as the Established Church.

(6.) The deficiency of Pastoral superintendence and Church accommodation in Edinburgh appears still more serious, when it is considered that, as in the Canongate, there are no Dissenting Chapels; the Dissenters belonging to that parish are included in those of the Royalty and St Cuthbert's, and that more than 3000

of the population of South Leith is practically and really, though not legally, a part of Edinburgh.\*

We think we may now hold that we have established the position, that the City Churches are better attended than those of the Dissenters.

4. Having now so far proceeded in an examination of these districts separately, it will enable our readers to form a more satisfactory opinion of the Church's condition, if we compare the relative position of the Church and Dissenters over the whole City, including the Royalty, St Cuthbert's, and the Canongate.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ATTENDANCE IN THE ESTABLISHED AND DISSENTING CHURCHES IN THE ROYALTY, ST CUTHBERT'S, AND THE CANONGATE.

In the Canongate Parish the population was, in 1831, about 10,000. There are in it one Parish Church and two Chapels of Ease, and no Dissenting Churches. We have not been able to ascertain precisely, except as to the Leith Wynd Chapel, the state of the attendance in these Churches. The whole number of sittings is 3532; the let sittings, we believe, did not at the period to which all these statements refer, exceed 1500, and the unlet sittings would therefore be 2032. It is important, however, to mention, that the Minister of one of the Chapels has only a stipend of £80 per annum, and that there was no stated Minister in the other Chapel at the period to which our statement refers. A Minister has been since settled there, and the attendance is now greatly increased.

Let us now restate the sum of the attendance in the whole Churches connected with the Establishment in the Royalty, St Cuthbert's, and Canongate:—

	<i>Accommodation.</i>	<i>Let.</i>	<i>Unlet.</i>
Royalty,	16,825	12,673	4152
St Cuthbert's,	9,068	7,050	2018
Canongate,	3,532	1,500	2032
Total,	29,425	21,223	8102

\* Since the preceding Tables of Dissenting Churches were printed, we have been informed that there is a number of smaller meetings held in private houses, which have not been included; but as altogether those who frequent them are not more than two or three hundred, they cannot materially affect the result.

The state of the Dissenting Churches over the same districts is as follows :—

	<i>Accommodation.</i>	<i>Let.</i>	<i>Unlet.</i>
Royalty, - - -	14,207	8318	5889
St Cuthbert's, - - -	23,105	16,954	6150
	<hr/> 37,312	<hr/> 25,272	<hr/> 12,040*
Compare with this the Estab- lished Church as above,	29,425	21,223	8103*
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total of sittings in the Estab- lished & Dissenting Churches in Edinburgh, - - - -	66,737	46,495	20,143

This summary statement exhibits the proportions of let and unlet sittings in the Established Churches on the one hand, as contrasted with those in *all* the Dissenting places of worship, and also the entire number of sittings, with the numbers of those let and unlet in all the Churches in Edinburgh, the free being included among the let seats. In the Churches connected with the Establishment there are let about five-sevenths of the whole sittings, while in the Dissenting Churches there are only about two-thirds let. The Dissenters have 12,000 sittings unlet, among which there are not 100 bad; while the Church has only 8000 unlet, of which at least 1500 are bad, and of which a much greater number are occupied, though unlet, than in the Dissenting places of worship.

From this comparison, the Dissenters appear to be numerically stronger; but in every thing that bears upon the question of Church Establishments, a large proportion of those so denominated, must be considered as not Dissenters; and, therefore, in the first place, there must be deducted from the entire number of Dissenters stated above, of - - - 25,272  
Those belonging to *Bodies* favourable to Establishments,  
amounting, in the Royalty and St Cuthbert's, to 5,764

Leaving - - - -	19,508
Which 19,508 is less than belong to the Establishment; and if the number <i>deducted</i> here be added to the former number belonging to the Established Churches in the Royalty and St Cuthbert's,—that is, if to - - - -	21,223
There be added - - - -	5,764

There remain, of sitters favourable to Establishments, 26,987

In regard also to the number of 19,508 Dissenters, to which they have been reduced, it is notorious, that whole congregations of them are altogether opposed to the Voluntary doctrines which are at present so strongly advocated by some; and we do not believe that there is one of the congregations of those bodies which left the Established Church, which does not contain a considerable proportion of persons favourable to her ancient constitution, as by law established. We believe, indeed, from all we can see and hear, that the strength and prevalence of Voluntary opinions among the church-going people about Edinburgh, has been greatly exaggerated. The strength of the party who oppose all National Establishments of Religion, even though the majority of the Dissenting ministers have taken that side, does not lie in their congregations, but in that large class of the population who are either Roman Catholics, or go to no church at all. That this number is far greater than would readily be believed, we shall now shew.

The population of Edinburgh, including St Cuthbert's and the Canongate, was 136,000 in 1831, and allowing only 6000 for the encrease of the population since that period, which is for ten years at the rate of about 11 per cent., while the encrease during the previous ten years was at the rate of 19 per cent, the population at present is 142,000, to which must be added so much of Leith as is in fact a part of Edinburgh, not being provided for by Leith, and being dependent upon Edinburgh to the amount of at least 3000. The whole population will thus be in round numbers

	-	-	-	-	145,000
(1.) Seats let and free in the Established Churches in					
the Royalty, St Cuthbert's and Canongate	21,223				

(2.) Seats let and free in all the Dissenting					
Churches	-	-	-	-	25,272

---

46,495

Doubling this sum to ascertain the number of					
church-goers, we have	-	-	-	-	92,990

There remain of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, who					
are <i>not</i> church-goers	-	-	-	-	52,010 !*

Thus more than a third of the whole population,—more than the whole number of church-going Dissenters in Edinburgh, appear to go to no church whatever; and of the number here stated according to the proportion of its population, 21,547 live within the

\* See Note E.



Royalty ! The care of the whole population has been committed to the Church by the wisdom of the State, and she dares not, without a struggle, abandon them for whom she sustains a fearful responsibility. It is her duty to see that they shall be all cared for, by men who cannot say, you have imposed upon us a task which we *cannot* thoroughly accomplish, and that they shall be all provided with comfortable accommodation in Churches, so that none may say, even with the semblance of reason,—I am shut out.

We beseech our readers to ponder the result of these statements, that in this city upwards of 50,000 go to no place of worship. They are for the most part of the poorer classes, who cannot for the spiritual things they receive, render of their carnal things. And what have Dissenters yet done for them,—what can Voluntaryism do for them that we should confide that great multitude to their care ? It is oppressive even to think of the magnitude of the task before the Church, though Government had provided for enough of ministers, and churches, and schools. And shall we be innocent of the blood of these souls, if when their destitute and miserable condition is thus exposed, we put forth no greater effort for their recovery than we have ever yet done ?

What can the enemies of all religion think when they see where two-thirds of a population profess to be Christians, the one-third turning the strength and fierceness of its opposition against the other, while the remaining third, through all the heat and duration of the contest, is left an easy prey to their common foe. Looking to these most melancholy results, need it surprise our readers that 12,000 or even 20,000 signatures should be appended to petitions to Parliament, praying for relief from the burden of our Church Establishment. It is just what might be expected where upwards of 50,000 human beings go to no place of worship.

5. Though the foregoing statements afford considerable information, yet it must be evident, that unless they receive illustration from the Seat Rents and Collections, a very imperfect idea only can be formed of the external condition of the City Churches, whether Established or Dissenting. We shall therefore prosecute the comparison we have begun, in reference to the twelve City Churches and the twelve Dissenting Churches, as to these particulars ; and after we have presented these statements we shall make some observations, in order that our readers may be enabled to proceed more profitably with us in our farther investigations. It will be impossible to prosecute this comparison so fully as we have done in regard to the attendance, because about ten of the

Dissenting Churches have no Seat Rents, and we have no means of knowing what are the collections in any of the Dissenting Churches, except these twelve.

We shall confine our *first* comparison to the Seat Rents; and as the seats occupied by the children at the hospitals obviously ought to be excluded from our present enquiry into the comparative seat rents in the City and Dissenting Churches, we have deducted them from the let seats.

TABLE OF SEAT RENTS IN EIGHT OLD TOWN CITY CHURCHES.

	Seats Let.	Amount of Seat Rents. £	Average Rent of Let Seats.		Average Rent of Unlet Seats.	
			s.	d.	s.	d.
High Church,	825	603	14	7½	10	8½
West St Giles',	729	562	15	5	15	4
New North,	1148	703	12	2	12	6
Tron,	311	162	10	4	8	8
Trinity College,	475	137	5	9	5	7
Lady Yester's,	360	133	7	4	8	5
Old Greyfriars',	122*	57	9	0	5	5
New Greyfriars',	404	186	9	1	5	11

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4374      £2543

Average rent of *let* seats, 11s. 7½d.

TABLE OF SEAT RENTS IN THE FOUR NEW TOWN CITY CHURCHES.

	Seats Let.	Amount of Seat Rents. £	Average Rent of Let Seats.		Average Rent of Unlet Seats.	
			s.	d.	s.	d.
St Andrew's,	453	463	21	5	17	6
St George's,	1465	1685	23	0	17	3
St Stephen's,	1631	1785	21	10	32	6
St Mary's,	959	748	15	8	15	10

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4508      £4681

Average rent of *let* seats, 20s. 9d.

\* It is proper to remind our readers that these Returns refer to May last. The number of seats let in the Old Greyfriars has since very much increased. A new minister has been appointed, and the rents have therefore been nearly doubled, as if the Council were determined the poor should not sit under a popular preacher.

TABLE OF SEAT RENTS IN EIGHT OLD TOWN DISSENTING  
CHURCHES.

Seats Let.	Amount of Seat Rents. £	Average Rent of Let Seats.		Average Rent of the whole Sittings.	
		s.	d.	s.	d.
Nicolson Street, 938	531	11	3	11	0
Bristo Street, 1423	642	9	0	9	0
Cowgate, 810	286	7	0	4	0
Portsburgh, 660	308	9	4	9	6
Potterrow, 495	254	10	3	10	0
Lothian Road, 867	379	8	8	8	9
Nicolson Square, 324	109	6	9	6	9
Mr Aikman's, 330	125	7	6	—	—
5847	£2634				

Average rent of *let* seats, 9s.

TABLE OF SEAT RENTS IN FOUR NEW TOWN DISSENTING  
CHURCHES.

Seats Let.	Amount of Seat Rents. £	Average Rent of Let Seats.		Average Rent of the whole Sittings.	
		s.	d.	s.	d.
Broughton Place, 1448	781	10	9	11	0
Albany Street, 300	114	7	7	8	0
Stockbridge, 600	225	7	6	7	6
Rose Street, 1231	621	10	0	10	0
3579	£1741				

Average rent of *let* seats, 9s. 8½d.

(1.) We observe, from these Tables, that the rent of the let seats in the Old Town City Churches averages 11s. 7½d., while in the corresponding Dissenting Churches the average is 9s., or 28 per cent. less.

(2.) The Rent of the let seats in the New Town Dissenting Churches averages 9s. 8½d.; but in the corresponding City Churches the average is 20s. 9d., or about 114 per cent. more.

(3.) The Rent of the let seats in the twelve City Churches averages 16s. 2¼d., and in the twelve Dissenting Churches, it is only 9s. 4¼d.

(4.) The highest average of the let seats in the City Churches is 23s., while the highest average among the twelve Dissenting Churches is only 11s. 3d., or more than one-half less; and there are *six* of the City Churches whose average is higher than the *highest* of the Dissenters.

(5.) If, instead of comparing the City Churches with twelve Dissenting Churches in which there are few free seats, the comparison had been prosecuted in regard to the whole Dissenting Churches within the Royalty, as there are out of the accommodation there, formerly stated at 14,205, *about 3000 sittings for which no rent is charged, of which 1700 have been supposed to be occupied*, it must be evident that it would reduce the average of the seat rents paid in Dissenting Churches to a considerably less sum, and shew that within the Established Church the seat rents are, on an average of the whole, decidedly more than double those among the Dissenters.

(6.) Finally, before we can ascertain how much higher in proportion the seat rents are in the City Churches, we must give due weight to the fact, that the rent of the seats behind the pillars and other inferior seats are included chiefly among the *unlet* seats; that these are generally low priced, and that therefore they swell the apparent number of cheap seats in the Church so much, that if due allowance be made for the first class of seats which are altogether worthless, and to a certain amount for the others, the average of the seat rents will appear still higher in the City Churches, and still lower in proportion among the Dissenters. It is remarkable, that in Lady Yester's the cheaper seats are better let than in the churches with pillars. The average rent of the unlet seats in the Dissenting Churches is about the same with the let, except the Cowgate, where the average of the let sittings is 7s., and of the unlet 4s., which arises from the great size of the Church—the difficulty of filling it—and from the circumstance that a lower average will make up as great a revenue as a higher, in a smaller church.

6. We shall now compare the amount of the Collections in the same Churches. This comparison has not been suggested by any desire to boast of the liberality of the City Churches, but has been called forth by a statement published by the Voluntaries, conveying the impression that they were far more liberal than the Established Church, though they admitted her adherents to be wealthier, and laying the whole blame, as they do of every evil in her administration, on the blighting influence of her endowments. The statements which we shall now submit, will show, that if she is to be blamed at all, it must be because she is more liberal than they. As there is enough of detail still before us, we shall, in this instance, while affording our readers sufficient means of forming a rational opinion on the subject, instead of the collections, and objects of the collections, in each particular Church, give

merely the general results of the Old Town and the New Town separately, and then together.

	8 Old Town City Churches. <i>Sitters 4374.</i>	■ Old Town Dissenting Churches. <i>Sitters 5847.</i>
Sabbath Ordinary Collections,	£829	} £1636
Sabbath Extra Do.	782	
	£1611	£1636
	Average to each sitter 7s. 4½d.	Average to each sitter 5s. 7d.
	4 New Town City Churches. <i>Sitters 4508.</i>	4 New Town Dissenting Churches. <i>Sitters 3579.</i>
Sabbath Ordinary Collections,	£1208	} £1109
Sabbath Extra Do.	1052	
	£2260	£1109
	Average to each sitter 10s.	Average to each sitter 6s. 2d.
	12 City Churches. <i>Sitters 8892.</i>	12 Dissenting Churches. <i>Sitters 9426.</i>
Sabbath Ordinary Collections,	£2037	} £2745
Sabbath Extra Do.	1834	
	£3871	£2745
	Average to each sitter 8s 9d.	Average to each sitter 5s. 9½d.

In order now to show in one view how much is contributed altogether on an average by each sitter, we shall now combine the Seat Rents and Collections.

	8 Old Town Churches. <i>Sitters 4374.</i>	8 Old Town Dissenting Churches. <i>Sitters 5847.</i>
Seat Rents, . . .	£2543	£2634
Collections, . . .	1611	1636
	£4154	£4270
	Average to each sitter 19s.	Average to each sitter 14s. 7d.



	4 New Town Churches. <i>Sitters 4508.</i>	4 New Town Dissenting Churches. <i>Sitters 3579.</i>
Seat Rents, . . . .	£4681	£1741
Collections, . . . .	2260	1109
	£6941	£2850
	Average to each sitter 30s.	Average to each sitter 16s.
	12 City Churches. <i>Sitters 8882.</i>	12 Dissenting Churches. <i>Sitters 9426.</i>
Seat Rents, . . . .	£7224	£4375
Collections, . . . .	3871	2745
	£11,095	£7120
	Average to each sitter 24s. 6d.	Average to each sitter 15s.

It will be seen, that in each of these comparative views, the average of the contributions is decidedly higher in the Church than among the Dissenters; and this is the case though

(1.) The whole sums contributed by the Dissenters are under their own control, and with an exception of about £550, to be immediately noticed, *are not charity*, because they are absorbed by their own wants,—that is for payment of their debt, for the stipend, repairs, &c.

(2.) Four of the Dissenting Churches state that they give about £550 to the poor; but as these poor are uniformly persons of their own communion, and in very few instances deriving, or so reduced in their circumstances as to be entitled to receive, aid from the public poor funds,—there is no corresponding relief to the community.

(3.) On the other hand, the whole seat rents of the Church have been uniformly appropriated by the Town-Council, and the Church have not exercised any control either over their imposition or application, so that they are less likely to be readily paid than among the Dissenters, where they are wholly applied to the support of their own institutions.

(4.) The Ordinary Sabbath Collections of the City Churches, are wholly given over to the Charity Work-House for the support of the general poor, and the amount is such, that the public are thereby relieved of an additional assessment for the poor of *one and a half per cent.*

(5.) The Extraordinary Sabbath Collections in the City Churches, are wholly for religious or benevolent objects beyond the congregations, who have no selfish interest whatever in their application.

(6.) Putting the seat rents out of the question, which would produce a still more favourable result, it appears that of the £2745 contributed by the Dissenters, there is not £800 *given away*, while the whole £3871 collected in the City Churches is given away,—that is the general community benefits from the collections in the City Churches nearly *five* times more than from a greater number of sitters in the Dissenting Churches.

(7.) Besides the collections included in the foregoing Tables, there are stated in the Returns to be £539 collected by Congregational Missionary Societies in *four* of the Dissenting congregations; but as the Church bestows her charity for these objects through general Missionary Societies to which she subscribes a much larger proportion than do the Dissenters, whether by these Congregational Societies, or more directly to the general societies, it would be obviously unfair to admit the contributions to the Missionary Societies into our comparisons. \*

Not only, however, has our comparison, at every step issued in favour of the Established Church, but it ought to be distinctly understood by the public, that the other Dissenting Churches do nothing that can be compared with the twelve whose condition we have now been investigating, and that therefore these twelve shew a much higher average of contribution than would be found over the whole Dissenting Churches in Edinburgh. The Episcopalian congregations subscribe, we believe, from £300 to £400 annually to the Infirmary and the Parochial Institutions for education; and thus far the community are indebted to the congregations of that body. The whole other Dissenting Congregations do not contribute besides what they give to their own poor out of their collections £200 per annum to all the religious and public institutions *in Edinburgh*, while three-fourths of the collections in the City Churches are expended there.

These remarks are not made with a view of throwing discredit on the Dissenters, but to shew the operation of their system, and to prove, which we think is very easy, the unsuitableness of that system to any great national purpose. It is by the nature of their principles and the circumstances of their situation that we can explain the fact of their living so much among themselves,—of

\* See Note F.

their contributing so much for themselves as distinct parties, and so little for the community at large,—and of their viewing every public question so much through the medium of their own exclusive prejudices. The burden of their debt, with their other expenses, prevents them from doing much for others; and it is one of the evils of their system; that what is given for its support is considered as charity, while a National Establishment enables any one to apply more to *truly* charitable purposes.\*

II. It has now been established that the twelve City Churches are better let than the average of the whole Dissenting places of worship, that, deducting the seats in them which are worse than the worst of the Dissenters, they are as well attended, there is reason to believe, as those of the most popular Presbyterian Dissenting body; that the seat rents in the City Churches are higher on an average to the church-goer, whether to the Old or the New Town Churches, than among the Dissenters; and that the collections in the City Churches, though they are wholly applied to the benefit of others, are greater on an average than among the Dissenting Churches, though they are almost entirely appropriated to their own benefit. But though thus considered as merely two sects, the Established Church maintains the advantage at every point, it is now our duty to enquire how it is that she has fallen so far short of what is intended by the sanction and Endowments she receives from the State.

It will be remembered, that we stated the object of the Endowment to be to provide for the instruction of the whole community; but in order to this, that the Endowment must be adequate to the object, and that the advantage of this national grant must be felt by every individual as a relief from a corresponding personal burden. Now, if these requisites of an efficient Endowment be considered in connection with the present condition of the Established Church in Edinburgh, it may rather occasion surprise that she should have been able to do so much, than that she has not done more. And we hope it will not be difficult to shew, that if the disadvantages under which she at present labours were removed, she would afford abundant ground in the nature of her doctrines, the forms of her government and worship, and in the ends and advantages of her Endowment, for believing that she would recover the hold of the community which she has partially lost, and be the best instrument for restoring to this coun-

\* See Note G.

try the elevated moral character which it bore, when the principle of Civil Establishments of Religion, maintained by the same men who were the champions of the Church's Independence, was asserted by the voice of the united nation.

The provision by the State, whether of Ministers or Churches, has never been adequate to the wants of the city; but the deficiency has encreased instead of being diminished. In 1720 there were in the Royalty 16 Ministers and 9 Churches, with less than 8000 sittings, when the population was about 25,000; and now, though there is an encrease of 30,000 to the population, only two Ministers have been added, and four Churches containing about 6000 sittings. At the former period there were scarcely any Dissenters, except the Nonjurants or Scottish Episcopalians; and though the Ministers were not sufficiently numerous for the thorough performance of the duties of a Clergyman as required by the Church, and though the City Churches could not contain above one-third instead of a half of the population, yet such was the remembrance of the struggles which the Church of Scotland had made, both for religion and for liberty, and their attachment to her on that account, that she did not experience at that time very great difficulty in maintaining, on the whole, undisputed and useful influence over the community. Some years later, Dissent sprung up in consequence of the violent measures of the dominant party in the Church; and by the division thus created the power of the Church was sensibly diminished; and the difficulties in the way of procuring the additional accommodation and efficient pastoral superintendence, which the State had not afforded, tended considerably to encrease the number of those who separated from the Church upon conscientious grounds. It had been part of the Town Council's system of management, as there was a great deficiency of accommodation, in utter forgetfulness of their duty, to promote the great ends of an Established Church, to provide their friends and the wealthy with seats, whilst the claims of the poor and unknown were postponed. The evils of this course were encreased by the high rates of the seat rents, which were felt to be evry burdensome by the great body of the people. They were thus taught to look upon the Established Church, which had long been the object of their reverence and fond attachment, as now rather an accommodation for the rich, and as an instrument for promoting the selfish purposes of the Corporation. The slowness, however, with which this estrangement of feeling proceeded was remarkable. Though Ministers were forced on the Church by the State, and the loudest voice of opposition utterly disregarded,—

though the Ministers, from the excessive difficulty of thoroughly superintending their unmanageable parishes, and in some instances through culpable negligence, did not visit them so often, nor take the same personal and affectionate interest in the welfare and improvement of each of them as in former days,—and though the Churches no longer afforded them accommodation, they still clung, to a very great extent, to the Church of their fathers, and evinced the strength of their attachment, by their attendance at the Sacramental seasons in far greater numbers than the Churches could have contained at one time.

In 1765, there was a proposal generally circulated for building by voluntary subscription a Chapel for the benefit of the inhabitants, which was ultimately superseded by the erection of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel; but it is important to notice the statement by which that proposal was introduced to the public.—“As the nine parishes of this city are far from being sufficient for the accommodation of those who are both willing and able to pay for their seats, and as the poor are almost totally excluded from public ordinances;”—“This end, which is calculated to serve the great ends of piety and mercy, meets with general approbation.”\* This statement, made at a period when there was no apprehension from Dissenters, and when there was no controversy raging which could account for it, may be considered as conclusive evidence that the Churches must have been seriously inadequate, when at this time, within 13 years after the erection of the first Secession Meeting-house, and within 12 after the erection of the second, containing 2000 sittings, it could be said that the Churches were far from being sufficient “even for those who are willing and able to pay for their seats,” though, *at the same time*, “*the poor were almost totally excluded from public ordinances.*” Notwithstanding these evidences, except Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, no Church was erected till 1783, when St Andrew's was built, and provided with 1000 sittings, a number not adequate for the increase which had taken place in the city after the erection of the Chapel. Meanwhile, the evils which had originated the Secession were very little abated, the insufficiency of the number of Ministers and the inadequacy of the Churches were every year increased, and the attachment of the people to the National Church was yearly diminishing, as the memory of her ancient services was lost in the sense of her growing inefficiency. Nor did the Dissenters stand by idle,—every circum-

\* Scots Magazine 1765, p. 110.



stance was improved by them, as an occasion of adding to their own numbers and promoting their own cause.

In 1799, a representation was read in the Town-Council, by the then Lord Provost, bearing, "That applications for seats in St Andrew's Church, and in most of the other churches in town, have been of late so numerous, as to render it impossible to accommodate the inhabitants, many families having been left altogether without seats, and others had not near the accommodation they required. *That the high rents charged for seats in some of the churches belonging to the city, place them very much beyond the reach of a great proportion of the inhabitants, by which also many families, members of the Established Church, are either deprived of an opportunity of attending public worship, or under the necessity of seeking accommodation in some of the meeting-houses. That the effect of this is greatly to encourage the erection of private places of worship not under the authority of the Established Church.*" And therefore he proposes the erection of a Church at "the least possible expense," "so as the city might be enabled to let the seats at moderate rates."\* This representation was approved, and it was remitted to a committee, to consider how the proposal might be carried into effect. And thus we have the deliberate testimony of the Town-Council to the truth of some facts of great importance in this controversy. But, alas! asleep as the friends of the Established Church had been for more than fifty years to the evils inflicted on the Church by the progress of Dissent, and though every year it received considerable accessions of strength from persons rather seeking for comfortable and convenient accommodation, than influenced by any dislike of the Establishment; even these grounds of alarm led to no practical result. The Town-Council were deriving every year a large revenue from Church funds,—yet, and although the duty was most clearly incumbent upon it, independently of that consideration altogether, no Church was built for fifteen years, when St George's, which cost £33,000, was opened exclusively for the rich. And of the two churches that have been since built, the one has cost £24,000, and the other £12,000.†

Not only has the provision in the Royalty been insufficient for the thorough superintendence and accommodation of all the inhabitants, but it has been rendered more inadequate in consequence of the condition of St Cuthbert's parish. Until within the last few years, and though the population of St Cuthbert's exceeded 50,000, there were not so many as 4000 sittings in churches in

\* Smith's Reply to the Town-Council, 1799. App. p. 57.

† See Note H.

connection with the Establishment. In these circumstances, the Town-Council permitted and encouraged the wealthier parishioners of St Cuthbert's to take seats in the City Churches, as they thus increased their revenue from seat rents. By these means, not only have the wants of the inhabitants of the city, in the arrangements of the churches, been overlooked, but the great additional burden of the superintendence of these parishioners of St Cuthbert's, has been imposed upon the ministers, while the efficient pastoral care of the poor has been placed more than ever beyond their power.\*

Is it still matter of surprise that the Dissenters should have so increased in number, or that the labours of the most faithful ministers should not have availed when their powers were overtaken by their unmanageable parishes, and when the interests and prosperity of the Church could hardly have been less regarded, if it had been the design of those who administered her affairs to efface every impression of the value of national endowments from the public mind? We are now reaping, in the estrangement of many of the people's affections, the fruits of the negligence and scandalous betrayal of the duties implied in the guardianship of the Church committed to the Town-Council. Well may the Church take up the complaint of the Children of Israel against their Egyptian task-masters:—"Wherefore dealest thou thus with thy servants? There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us, Make brick : *and, behold, thy servants are beaten ; but the fault is in thine own people.*"

In addition to the evils arising from the inadequate provision of Ministers and of Churches, the Council, to increase the town's revenues, but in mockery of all the proper uses of an Established Church, for a long period imposed seat rents, such as the authorities we have quoted in 1765 and 1799, prove to have had the effect of excluding the great body of the people. Disregarding every obligation which lay upon them as guardians of the national religion, especially for the poor, they degraded the Established Church into a mere instrument for raising money. So far from the endowment implying a corresponding pecuniary benefit to the church-goer, the Council took occasion from it, to impose seat rents at as high a rate as they could have obtained if there had been no endowment intended to relieve the church-goer of these very burdens ; and though that endowment was considered as a national blessing, for this, among other reasons,

\* See Note I.

that it would make ordinances more accessible, because less costly. Denying, then, first sufficient accommodation for the whole community, which they had enough of ecclesiastical means even apart from the common good to provide,—refusing the appointment of a sufficient number of ministers for the thorough, in order to the successful cultivation of the whole vineyard,—disturbing the peace, and endangering the unity of the Church, too often, by ministerial appointments in defiance of public opinion, and the edification and welfare of congregations, they seemed to be consummating their guilt, when they thus blotted out from public observation all trace of the practical benefit and relief afforded by an Establishment to the great body of the people. They enacted the part of Managers of Voluntary Churches, by drawing as much as they could from the sitters; but without the justification even of these Managers, they withdrew as much as they could from the purposes of the Church, so that it might be applied to purposes of a very different description. How else could it be that the seat rents should be so much lower among the Dissenters, who had every ecclesiastical expense to defray, than in the Church, where the chief part of that expense was otherwise provided for? When the bulk of the people were thus treated, and when the Dissenters were standing by witnesses of the guilt and folly of the professed friends of the Church, was it to be wondered at, that looking at human nature as we find it in ordinary life, coldness should turn into prejudice, and prejudice ripen into envy and hatred, and these bad passions should manifest themselves in opposition, not to the mere administration of the Church, but to the very foundations of her Establishment? While no man can succeed in explaining the progress of Dissent, and the present state of parties, by a reference to the constitution of the Established Church, it is easy for any man of common observation, and unprejudiced mind, to discover their chief causes in the mismanagement of the Church by the Town-Council. Every thing that has tended to cripple and impair it, has in the same proportion rendered Dissent more buoyant and prosperous. Thus it flourished, while the Church was suffering under manifold restraints, and unaware of the dangers attending its encrease, was regarding often even with kindness the men who were appropriating her territories. When the Church was shaking off her criminal indolence, and the State was repenting of some of the wrongs which she had committed upon the cause of national religion, the Church soon discovered, that they whom she had been disposed to regard as her friends and her brethren soon again to be restored, who had been nursed by the affection, and enriched by

the bounty of many of her people, were now assuming towards her a hostile attitude, proclaiming their defiance and exterminating designs, and strengthening their positions, lest their day of prosperity should go down.

What may be the immediate issues of this unnatural contest, we do not pretend to say; but the final triumph of the cause of national religion is certain. Meanwhile, it is the duty of every true friend to that good cause to be firm, notwithstanding the declensions of others, bearing, though in adverse circumstances, his unflinching testimony for the truth of God against the sophistries and opposition of men, and in prosperous times, guarding against the evils of too secure repose. Let us rejoice that the Church is now so heartily aiming at the proper ends of her establishment, and that elsewhere sounder views are entertained than formerly, of the great duty which every nation owes to the Author of the true religion. Let us also hope, that when her friends are desiring the restoration of the efficiency of the Church, not as a means of triumph over the Dissenters, but simply as an object which it is their duty to promote, and which cannot be fully attained without the cooperation and comprehension of these Dissenters—when these friends and the State shall be seen to be truly earnest in the work, and the Church shall have achieved many peaceful victories on her own proper field,—that then better instructed in the evidences of her power, and more enlightened as to the source from which she derives it, they who are looking at this moment doubtfully on, or are even mingling with the adverse ranks, may confess the soundness of her principles, and aid in extending their influence.

III. We shall now offer some suggestions for encreasing the efficiency of the Establishment in Edinburgh; and as the principal means of accomplishing this result are, to a great extent, within the reach of the Church's friends, there is the less excuse for delay or indifference. We may, in the first place, encrease the efficiency of our ministers, by abolishing, without one year's unnecessary delay, the collegiate charges. It is not to the present purpose, nor relevant to the present condition of the Church, to argue in their defence. Whatever may be said for them, under modified forms, as a supplement, for the reward and rest of able and aged ministers, after a complete provision of labourers who should be active in the field has been made, nothing can be said in their favour in the present posture of the Church. When there is a want of labourers, the next thing to getting more is to make the most of what we have, and to make all of them effec-

tive for the great purposes, which, if the Church is to be maintained at all, humanly speaking, must be accomplished now.\* These Charges grew, we believe, out of the greater readiness with which the Town-Council were disposed to pay a small additional salary, than to lay out a larger sum for an additional church. But theirs was short-sighted policy; let us, instructed by its unhappy consequences and the present crisis, not be content even with our present ministers without more churches. Both are necessary to the efficiency of either, and the accessibility of the churches is necessary to the efficiency of both. Let the Church then persevere in seeking these objects,—let the State help her, and if the State shall fail to do its duty, let her friends feel the call more urgent to strenuous exertions in her behalf. If we turn to the Dissenters of Edinburgh, we observe, that while they have now forty-six churches and about 50,000 people connected with them, they have about *fifty-one* ministers to superintend that population. In the Church, we have seen that there are at least 42,000 in connection with her, and it cannot be denied that the not church-going population is placed under her care, amounting together to more than 85,000 souls, and for that great multitude she has, of old and young, in all *thirty-one* ministers, who besides this awful charge, dare not neglect the Roman Catholics, nor even the Orthodox Dissenter. The Dissenting minister, thus with, on an average, only 1000 under his care, experiences also this peculiar relief, that they almost entirely consist of adherents; while on the Church lies all the burden of reclaiming the outcast, and going forth in search of the strayed. The collegiate charges being abolished, the parishes divided of new, the churches encreased to eighteen, by the means which we shall immediately point out; and each city minister in the possession of his own parish, and his own church, with the aid of an active and faithful body of elders and deacons, and with the eyes of the Church considering him in his path, it is reasonable to expect, that when the prayers of the Christian people are added to these means, they will be blessed in the prosperity and extension, not of the mere apparatus of the Church, for that is a very small matter, but in the recovery of thousands, for whom it has been said, and certainly not with less truth of the Dissenter than of the Churchman, that no man careth for their souls.

But, unless to these advantages be added the reduction of the seat rents, as to a large proportion of the population, to a merely nominal amount, it is vain to expect that the Establishment can

\* See Note K.



recover the great body of the people to her charge. We have already stated their amount, and it has been shewn that their average is higher than among the Dissenters. In order to shew, however, that the poor are not excluded, in opposition to the historical evidences we have quoted,—to the notorious fact, that in every well attended church, the most cumbrous method by petitioning the Council for seats, was adhered to till very lately, which with all its trouble, and to the poor extreme uncertainty, amounted to a virtual exclusion,—that in all the Dissenting Churches, besides lower rates, the seat rents have been always paid half-yearly, and therefore more conveniently,—and to the fact, that when the rents were raised in 1822,\* in four of the churches in the Old Town by £278, only £39 was drawn in consequence of the retreat of the poor; and that in the New North Church, where this falling off does not appear, the encrease was got, not from the same class of sitters, but from a superior class drawn thither from the New Town by the extraordinary popularity of the minister,—in opposition to all these evidences, a Statement has been published in various forms, shewing how many sittings at low prices were unlet in all the churches. We could hardly conceive a better specimen of the jugglery of arithmetic, which Dr Welsh speaks of in his Letter, than this Statement exhibits. It consists almost entirely of figures, and there is not one trace of explanation upon any point. The impression intended to be left on the mind, is evidently that there is a fair proportion of these seats in the different churches, and that there is not more than an equal proportion of them behind pillars and in other unfavourable situations. But what is the fact? The principle upon which the rents have been imposed and regulated, is altogether irrespective of the ends of an Establishment, or the accommodation of the poor; it is purely a mercantile principle, that is, the highest rents which can be got are exacted. It is altogether an accident if the poor have a single sitting offered them, for if all the churches could be filled with the wealthier classes, and at rents such as they only could pay, the poor would be rudely turned away. Among the low priced sittings are to be reckoned almost all the sittings behind pillars, and those remote uncomfortable seats where the minister can only be imperfectly heard. In the next place, about the period when the statements we refer to were put forth, in the four New Town Churches, with the High, Tolbooth, and New North

\* State of the Question respecting the Seat Rents. Edin. 1824. App. pp. 74-5.

Churches, though in two of these many of the seats are obstructed by pillars, there were 1878 sittings unlet at and above 10s., while there were only 257 sittings unlet below that sum. In St Stephens there are, even with the reductions made last summer, *no seats provided for the poor*—the lowest rate being 8s. In St George's there are only 75 under 8s., and *none under 5s.*, and these are all in the most remote parts of the Church. No doubt, there are plenty of low priced unlet sittings in other Churches; but to take credit for attention to the poor on account of these seats, evinces a degree of moral callousness to the great duty of providing Christian instruction which provokes our indignation. Attention to the poor! The Council had tried to get higher rents for the seats in these Churches, but, from whatever causes, to these Churches they who could pay more would not go. Pursuing the same object, viz. the getting as large a revenue from the seat rents as possible, they *reduced* the rents to attract a poorer class; and failing in this, as they well deserved to do, and unable to get them let at any price, they point still to their moderate rate; and while it is a charity that costs them nothing, or rather while it is a charity which was prompted by the expectation of a larger accruing profit, they would, at least some of them, impose upon the public the idea that there is abundant provision for the poor in the Churches! These men call themselves 'friends of the poor'—'enemies of the jobbing system of the old Town Councils;' and this is their friendship for their poor, to give them what no others will take, and what is of no value to themselves, while they withhold from them what they ask, because it implies a sacrifice, though, in the institution of the Establishment, it was one of the greatest honours of its founders that *they* had regard to the poor!

Some reductions have been recently made on the seat rents, but their extent may be estimated, when it is considered that the rental has only fallen off £7. A few seats have been accommodated to a class above the poor; but still the Council has not lost sight of the revenue; and, in fact, the chief reduction which was made in St Mary's, was designed principally *to benefit the Revenue*, by the letting of seats which were occupied, though unlet. If the over-let seats, and those reductions which were made for the sake of the revenue, be deducted, the whole reduction to the poorer classes will not amount to £50, on a rental of £9000. This turning of the Establishment into a mere instrument for raising money, appears in a still worse light, when it is considered, that, among the Dissenters, very little accommodation is provided for the properly poor. There are 1400 persons or families

who receive permanent or occasional aid from the Charity Workhouse, almost none of whom can be found to have fixed seats in any place of worship. It is clear that such persons cannot pay for seats, and it must be obvious, that, at least for them, the City Churches should provide accommodation. A far larger class, immediately above the one we have referred to, are shut out almost totally from the Churches by the seat-rents; and on the heads of those who persist in perverting them from their proper ecclesiastical purposes, must lie the guilt of their neglected souls.\* Even in higher classes, the rents are felt to be oppressive; and it is too common for families, both in the Established and Dissenting Churches, in consequence, to take fewer seats than they need, and hence to acquire habits of irregular attendance in Church, which too often leads to an abandonment of the duty altogether.

Relief from the pressure of these seat rents must therefore be, with every friend of the Church, an object of grave and urgent importance; and it is perhaps to be considered as a most favourable conjuncture, when these friends are inquiring what they can do to extend her usefulness, and to restore her to the affections of the people, that the question of the right of these seat rents is about to be brought before a court of law, whether by the Town, in a declaratory action against its Creditors, or by the Creditors, in a declaratory action against the Town. We care very little what may be the pleas of the one of these parties against the claims of the other, but we believe that the Church may be shewn to have a better right than either. The main defence against this claim, when put forth, has been, that the Town is entitled to be paid, out of these seat rents, the expense of all the costly Churches which have been recently built by the Town, and also to retain them for their prior advances on account of the Establishment; and we are not sure but that the Town claims something like an absolute right of property in the Churches besides. A very proper question might be raised, were it necessary, even although the claim for the cost of these churches were good, viz. whether the seat rents of the older Churches of the Town, which were not built by the Corporation, ought not to be reduced to the amount, at most, of the current expenditure? But as we shall now prove that the Town has already gained, even including the expenditure for the extravagant Churches she has built in the New Town, the raising of that question seems at present unnecessary.

\* See Note L.

We have already stated, that the whole stipends of the Ministers are provided for by Endowments, which the Town Council cannot meddle with; and it is evident that the remaining Ecclesiastical charges must be a very great deal less than those of the Dissenters, who have every thing to pay. These remaining Ecclesiastical charges connected with the Church, amount to about £2000 per annum; but as the Town levies £7000 per annum from seat rents, it of course seems to gain, at the present moment, £5000 per annum by its connection with the Church. It has been said, however, that the Town is not a gainer, but a loser, by its connection with the Church; and we have seen a Report, approved by the Town Council, called Mr Grainger's Report,\* in which there is a charge against the Church yearly for £4609 of interest, as due by it to the Town on £140,000, being the cost or value of the City Churches! When such statements are published by the authority of the Council, the friends of the Church may be permitted, supposing them to be well founded, to lament the prejudice against the Church, and the forgetfulness of all the benefits she has conferred upon the community, indicated by their publication; but when they are put forth by the Council, *not only without evidence, but against the evidence in their own possession*,—when they thus adopt the maxims and the bad principles of most of their predecessors, and seek to promote their own ends, whether they be the reduction or abolition of the Establishment, by statements well calculated, by their plausible appearance and authoritative character, to impose upon the ignorant, it is only a plain duty to denounce the persons as unworthy to hold the guardianship of a Church whose interests they could so grossly betray. There is, indeed, no truth in the impression given by that Report, that the Church is indebted to the Town; and though that impression may seem to be supported by the fact of the great cost of the New Town Churches, we shall now not only substantiate our contradiction, but establish the fact, that the Town is at this moment indebted to the Church in a very large sum, even since 1788. We shall commence our detailed statement with that year. This period includes £1000 of the cost of St Andrew's Church, which cost in all £7268, the rebuilding of Lady Yester's, and the cost of St George's, St Mary's, and St Stephen's, as well as the improvements of St Giles', which form the main grounds, so far as we know, for the claim of the Town on account of the Churches.

Of the ten Churches which existed in 1788, the four under St

\* See Note M.

Giles' were acquired from the Crown, immediately after the Reformation in 1559, for the use of the Protestant religion. Trinity College was also acquired by the town, with very considerable revenues belonging to it, partly for the same purposes, and partly for the support of the Hospital. Lady Yester's was built, and also partly endowed by the lady whose name it bears. The Tron was built almost, if not entirely, by voluntary subscriptions. The Old Greyfriars' seems to have been built by the town, and to have cost £3000;\* but the Town, in 1661, obtained a Parliamentary grant of an additional Wine Duty—about a fourth of the present impost, on the ground of the expenses of the town in building Churches, and also for paying ministers' stipends; and the Town had also a large balance left in their hands of 20,000 merks, given by one Moodie for erecting a Church, which, with interest at 6 per cent in 1687, amounted to 63,000, of which they paid away 43,000 for building the Canongate Church; but the balance of 20,000 merks seems to have always remained in their hands,† so that, and as the Wine Duty was exceedingly lucrative, it may be believed that the latter was very soon relieved of these temporary burdens, and made available, as agreed to by the Town-Council for paying the stipends. The New Greyfriars' and its minister were provided for out of the Ale Duty; and St Andrew's, though in a general sense paid by the town, was in fact paid by accumulations of Church funds in the Town's possession. For the payment of the stipends and other ordinary ecclesiastical expenses, there are many reasons for holding, though, from the obscurity of the facts, it is very difficult to ascertain exactly, that the Church revenues acquired by the Council soon after the Reformation, which were of great extent and value, with the occasional aids of Government, and more lately with the addition of the Annuity, Merk per Ton, Lady Yester's Mortification, the Wine Duty, and the Seat Rents, were amply sufficient down to 1690. There is more distinct and satisfactory evidence for holding, that from 1690 to 1788, the Town was deriving a yearly augmented revenue from the Church.‡ In preparing our more

\* State of the Question of Seat Rents, p 25.

† Maitland's Hist. of Edin., pp. 142-3.

‡ We had prepared a historical note, in which we brought forward, in fuller detail, the facts and arguments in support of this general statement; and by comparing the amounts of the Stipends and other Ecclesiastical expenditure at different periods, with the Revenues applicable to these purposes, independent of the common good, as carefully and correctly as the frequent inconsistencies and confusion of the materials would permit, we arrived at the result we have stated.



detailed statements from the last period, we have endeavoured to insure their accuracy, and though, in some of the later years there may be some discrepancies, we do not believe that they can seriously affect the result. We throw out of our *present* view the whole Church revenues in the hands of the Town, because the Town was not bound to apply them *exclusively* to ecclesiastical purposes, and because we mean to shew, that even independently of these funds, the Town is greatly indebted to the Church.

The first view we shall submit, will be confined to the Church funds, which were, in the law-plea betwixt the Ministers and the Magistrates in 1813, decided to belong *absolutely* to the former, which were collected from 1788 to 1810 by the Town, during which period the ministers were paid by salaries. We shall then shew, by a statement of the Seat Rents, and other similar incidental Revenue from 1788 to September last, and the charge thereon for cost of Churches and current expenditure, how the account stands between the Town and the Church. Fractions have been thrown aside, in order to simplify the statements.

The length to which our other remarks have extended, together with the dryness and comparatively unimportant character of the information it contains, have induced us to withdraw the note. Without, however, noticing its details, it is, however, of some importance perhaps to mention here, that in estimating these means, we considered that we ought not only to comprehend those Revenues which *absolutely* belonged to the Clergy, as the Annuity, &c., nor those which belonged at least to *the Church*, as the Seat Rents, &c.,—but those also which were given to the Town as the Church Revenues, &c., for other objects, as well as the support of the Church, *so far* as the Town, which had a discretionary control over them, did not at the time *specifically* apply them to these *other* objects, holding that the Church is entitled to the benefit of the presumption, in an argument like the present, that they were expended upon it. We considered also that where Parliamentary Grants were made in favour of the Town for building Churches, or providing for other Ecclesiastical expenses, that unless *expressly* reserved, the Town must be held to have discharged its claims against all *other* parties, for any advances it may have made for these purposes. We may mention also, that there is good reason for believing, that down to near the middle of the 17th century, the Church door collections were equal to the whole Ecclesiastical Endowments and expenditure, and even from 1720 to 1780, during which period these collections averaged about £1100 or £1200,—while the seat rents were £1400 or £1500, making together about £2700, the Stipends were only in all about £2200, and the difference must have been enough for the other expenses of the Churches, &c.; so that, in fact, the Church was giving to the State, by these means, as much as it was getting from the State in the shape of Endowments.

VIEW OF THE NET RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF THE TOWN OF EDINBURGH, FOR THE STIPENDS OF THE CITY CLERGY,<sup>1</sup> WITH THE BALANCES DUE TO, OR BY THE TOWN, AT THE END OF EACH YEAR, FROM MARTINMAS 1788 TO 1810.<sup>2</sup>

	Annuity.	Merk per Ton.	Lady Yester's Mortification, and Charge on Ale Duty.	Total.	Stipends.	Deficiency to Town.	Surplus to Town.
1789	£1,996	£295 <sup>3</sup>	£151	£2,442	£2,546	£104	
1790	2,367	327	151	2,845	2,478		£367
1791	2,421	684	151	3,256	2,613		643
1792	2,530	326	151	3,007	2,611		396
1793	2,564	226	151	2,941	2,608		333
1794	2,757	278	151	3,186	2,557		629
1795	2,783	328	151	3,262	3,162		100
1796	2,821	1,151	151	4,123	3,262		861
1797	2,821	1,073	151	4,045	3,262		783
1798	2,899	1,437	151	4,487	3,241		1,246
1799	2,881	1,792	151	4,824	3,202		1,622
1800	3,053	1,891	151	5,095	3,417		1,678
1801	3,055	2,277	151	5,483	3,060		2,423
1802	3,245	2,051	151	5,447	3,153		2,294
1803	3,402	1,447	151	5,000	4,062		938
1804	3,600	1,211	151	4,962	3,943		1,019
1805	3,415	2,107	151	5,673	3,951		1,722
1806	3,601	2,339	151	6,091	3,935		2,156
1807	3,767	2,504	151	6,422	3,995		2,427
1808	3,774	2,397	151	6,322	4,919		1,403
1809	4,477	2,600	151	7,228	5,610		1,618
1810	4,806	2,600	151	7,557	5,610		1,947
	£69,035	£31,341	£3,322	£103,698	£77,197	£104	£26,405

NOTES EXPLANATORY OF THE PRECEDING TABLE.

1. The Annuity Merk per ton and Stipends stated in this view, except for the years 1809 and 1810, have been taken from a Return ordered lately by the House of Commons including various other particulars, and extending from 1788 to 1808. The Annuity and stipends for 1809 and 1810 have been taken from "the Report of the Treasurer's Committee to the Town Council respecting the Ecclesiastical Revenues of the City of Edinburgh." The Merk per ton for these two years we have not been able to ascertain, but we have calculated them as correctly as we could, from comparing their amount in the previous years with the proceeds stated in the Inhabitants' Committee Report for a series of years, commencing 1814. The amount of Lady Yester's Mortification and the charge upon the Ale Duty for the minister of the New Greyfriars, are perfectly well known.

2. From 1810 to 1820, the ministers had the sole right to the Annuity, &c. They, however, compromised their claims with the magistrates for these ten years, by which the town gained more than L.2000, which we have not stated.

3. It is proper to explain that the trifling proceeds of the Merk per ton for the first seven years of this view is owing to *extraordinary* expenses connected with the Leith harbour. The net average produce of that duty for each of these seven years was in fact nearly L.1400, though it appears here about L.350, the difference, which is about L.7300, being expended upon the harbour.

VIEW OF THE RECEIPTS OF THE TOWN COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH,  
OF SEAT RENTS AND INCIDENTAL ECCLESIASTICAL REVENUE,  
AND THEIR EXPENDITURE FOR BUILDING CHURCHES AND DE-  
FRAYING THE ORDINARY ECCLESIASTICAL CHARGES, WITH THE  
BALANCES DUE TO, OR BY THE TOWN AT THE END OF EACH  
YEAR, FROM MARTINMAS 1788 TO SEPTEMBER 1834.

To	Net Seat Rents.	Incidental Revenue.	Total Revenue.	Building Churches.	Ordinary Expenditure	Total.	Deficiency to Town.	Surplus.
1789	£1206		£1,206	£886 <sup>s</sup>	£1058 <sup>19</sup>	£1,944	£748	
1790	1465		1,465	82 <sup>s</sup>	634	716		£749
1791	1457		1,457		1728	1,728	271	
1792	1589		1,589		1146	1,146		443
1793	1599		1,599		692	692		907
1794	1581		1,581		641	641		940
1795	1580		1,580		540	540		1040
1796	1563		1,563		1111	1,111		452
1797	1574		1,574		1467	1,467		107
1798	1594		1,594		606	606		988
1999	1600		1,600		897	897		703
1800	1590		1,590		1147	1,147		443
1801	1674		1,674		1071	1,071		603
1802	1663		1,663		1128	1,128		535
1803	1693		1,693		2463	2,463	770	
1804	1677		1,677	1,320 <sup>s</sup>	658	1,978	301	
1805	1662		1,662	1,605 <sup>s</sup>	1572	3,177	1515	
1806	2074		2,074	597 <sup>s</sup>	1181	1,778		296
1807	2085		2,085	440 <sup>s</sup>	1065	1,505		580
1808	2132	88 <sup>1</sup>	2,220		1356	1,356		864
1809	1893	88	1,981		1313	1,313		668
1810	2032	88	2,120		1209	1,209		911
1811	2258	88	2,346	4,506 <sup>10</sup>	825	5,331	2985	
1812	2340	88	2,428	9,700 <sup>10</sup>	1005	10,705	8277	
1813	2367	88	2,455	8,033 <sup>10</sup>	1066	9,099	6644	
1814	3676	88	3,764	1,455 <sup>10</sup>	1104	2,559		1205
1815	3687	88	3,775	7,371 <sup>10</sup>	2166	9,537	5762	
1816	3211	88	3,299	756 <sup>10</sup>	2421	3,177		122
1817	4115	88	4,203	1,025 <sup>10</sup>	2613	3,638		565
1818	4169	88	4,257	127 <sup>10</sup>	3240	3,367		890
1819	3928	88	4,016		1687	1,687		2329
1820	4339	88	4,427		2080	2,080		2347
1821	4345	88	4,433		1298	1,298		3140
1822	4535	88	4,623		1260	1,260		3363
1823	5175	88	5,263	507 <sup>11</sup>	1221	1,728		3535
1824	5033	88	5,121	7,624 <sup>11</sup>	1236	8,860	3739	
1825	6062	1866 <sup>2</sup>	7,928	2,981 <sup>11</sup>	1713	4,694		3234
1826	5794	88	5,882	1,202 <sup>11</sup>	2560	3,762		2120
1827	5868	88	5,956	7,800 <sup>12</sup>	1752	9,552	3596	
1828	5925	88	6,013	12,029 <sup>13</sup>	1335	13,364	7351	
1829	7092	2102 <sup>3</sup>	9,194	4,990 <sup>14</sup>	1619	6,609		2585
1830	7279	3940 <sup>4</sup>	11,219	8,011 <sup>15</sup>	3153	11,164		55
1831	7357	2088 <sup>5</sup>	9,445	8,420 <sup>16</sup>	2823	11,243	1798	
1832	7220	6688 <sup>6</sup>	13,908	4,144 <sup>17</sup>	2334	6,478		7430
1833	7200	88	7,288	3,046 <sup>18</sup>	2159	5,205		2083
1834	7140	885 <sup>7</sup>	8,025		1524	1,524		6501
	£157,098	£19,417	£176,515	£98,657	£68,872	£167,529	£43,747	£52,733

## NOTES EXPLANATORY OF THE PRECEDING TABLE.

1. This sum, which is also charged every following year, consists of L.25 of feu received for the old ground of Lady Yester's Church, L.15 of a sub-feu, and L.48 of rent of Vaults under the church, which ought to be charged against the Town, as on the other side is entered the full amount of the feu, being L.80.
2. This item consists of L.1778 of insurance received for the Tron Church spire, and L.88.
3. This consists of L.2014 received from Government grant for improving St. Giles', and L.88.
4. Consisting of L.2000 more of Government grant, L.614 of drawbacks for St Mary's Church, and L.1238 of ditto for St Stephen's, and L.88.
5. Government grant for St Giles' of L.2000, and L.88.
6. Ditto of L.6600 and L.88.
7. Consisting of L.797 of drawbacks for St Giles', and L.88.
8. Part cost of St Andrew's Church, costing in all L.7288.
9. Cost of rebuilding Lady Yester's, amounting in all to L.3962.
10. Cost of St George's, amounting in all to L.32,973.
11. Part cost of St Mary's.
12. Ditto of St. Stephen's.
13. St Stephen's L.10,800, St Mary's L.8, and Tron spire L.1221.
14. St Mary's L.37, (costing in all, less drawbacks, L.11,746), St Stephen's L.3999,—and Tron spire L.954,—(costing in all L.2175.)
15. St Stephen's L.1872, St Giles' L.6112, and John Knox Church L.27.
16. St Giles' L.7587, and John Knox L.833.
17. St Giles' L.4118, John Knox L.12, and St Stephen's L.14, (costing in all, less drawbacks, L.23,248).
18. John Knox L.318 (in all L.1191), and St Giles L.2728, costing in all, less drawbacks L.19,748, and less Government grant L.7134.
19. The particulars of the ordinary expenditure are more fully detailed in No. II. of the Appendix. In order to do away with cavilling objections, every thing having the least connection with the ecclesiastical expenditure has been included. It will be seen that more than L.2000 is included for the Town Council's expenses in calling and admitting the ministers during the first twenty-six years of the account (though during the last twenty years the whole expenditure under that head has not exceeded L.230). These, with the public clocks, and the music bells, as well as the damages for not implementing the contract for building John Knox's Church, and various other items we have inserted, though they can form no proper charge against the church. Before the last few years a sum of L.170, and more recently of L.240, was yearly paid out of the Session Clerk's fees and the Greyfriars' Church-Yard dues, which have *not* been inserted, because, in the first place, the Town Council does not pay them, and because the funds out of which they are paid have received more than corresponding advantages from the church, and indeed they may be held to be church revenues.
20. The sums in this table have been stated on the following authorities :—  
*1st.* The Receipt and Expenditure for the first twenty years down to 1808, are taken from the Return referred to in a note to the previous table. *2d.* The Seat Rents

from the last date to Martinmas 1813 from the Proper Revenue books of the town —thence to Martinmas 1819 from the books of the Collector, the books for the *previous* years not being summed up; from 1819 to Martinmas 1831, from a return for these twelve years to the House of Commons, and for the three following years from the Collector's books deducting the expenses of collection. The L.88 being the feu and rents connected with Lady Yester's, have been taken from the Town's books as they were last year, and we have set the same down against each year since Lady Yester's was opened, though probably the rent was sometimes higher. The other items of incidental revenue, and expenses of building churches are taken from the proper revenue books, together with the particulars of the ordinary expenditure, except the sums found in the Dean of Guild's books. It may seem to some persons needless to detail these sources of our information; but it is only proper, considering that the results lead to very serious consequences, that it should be in the power of any body to ascertain how far our statements are well founded.

We are certain that the most sanguine of our readers cannot have been prepared for the results of these statements, which shew a course of management of the affairs of the Church of a most discreditable character. Even our opponents must acknowledge that they contain evidence of very remarkable forbearance on the part of the Clergy, as well as of a system under which, without any fault of the Church, it is surprising that she has not suffered more injury.

1. From 1788 to 1810, being twenty-two years, the Town withheld from the Clergy more than twenty-six thousand pounds of monies, which it has since been decided in a court of law should have belonged to the latter exclusively; and that large sum, with simple interest at the same rate as the Town paid for the sums they borrowed, amounts now to more than sixty thousand pounds!

2. From 1788 to 1834, being forty-six years, the Town has drawn L.176,515 strictly applicable to the building, repairs, and furnishing of Churches, as the only ecclesiastical purposes not otherwise provided for, and within the same period they have expended L.98,657 on building Churches, and L.68,872 for current charges. Notwithstanding the extravagant cost of the new churches, the Town had remaining in their hands before the last term of Martinmas, with simple interest on the account, TWELVE THOUSAND POUNDS of the seat rents levied within that period!

3. Taking the Annuity, &c. together with the Seat Rents, &c. and deducting the sums paid out by the Town, THE LATTER HAS GAINED, WITH SIMPLE INTEREST FROM 1788 TO 1834, THAT IS, DURING THE LAST FORTY-SIX YEARS, BY ITS CONNECTION WITH THE CHURCH, MORE THAN NINETY THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING!



Though thus every Church which the Town has built has been paid by the former, or at least independently of the funds of the corporation, the Town Council assert a right to the property of all the Churches, and to levy seat rents according to their discretion. There is, however, no vestige of authority for these claims. The Town has no right whatever to levy seat rents except for ecclesiastical purposes; and it is not admitted even that they can do that of their own authority. We do not, however, intend to enter at present into the legal argument of this question. We shall appeal to authorities which cannot be disregarded, for the evidence of the soundness of our opinion.

In 1823, in consequence of the assertion of this right by the Town Council, and their raising considerably the rate of the seat rents in most of the City Churches, the kirk sessions of these Churches laid a memorial before the Lords Newton and Moncreiff, then at the bar, for their opinion,—Whether the magistrates had any right to levy seat rents at all, as certainly they were not to be imposed but “with the consent of the neighbours,” and if they had, how was this right limited? In their opinions, these gentlemen expressed considerable doubt as to the propriety of raising the first question; but in regard to the other, Lord Newton says, “I am disposed to think that the only just ground for levying seat rents, seeing the ministers’ stipends are provided from other funds, is the repayment to the common good of the expense of building and repairing the churches. I do not think, therefore, that the Town is entitled to encrease these rents at the pleasure of the magistrates, or to make the seat rents in the churches a source of revenue applicable to the general expenses of the burgh.”\* Lord Moncreiff expresses his opinion even in more decided terms: “I am clearly of opinion that the magistrates have no right to levy seat rents for the encrease of the general revenues of the city, or for any purpose, except the support of the ecclesiastical establishment itself.”†

Both Lords Newton and Moncreiff recommended an Action of Declarator to be raised, to have the question decided; but circumstances, not at all connected with any doubt of the soundness of their grounds either in law or in equity, prevented the sessions proceeding in the course pointed out.

If, however, the least impression shall exist that these opinions proceeded upon *ex parte* statements, we think that that impression must be removed by the opinion of Messrs. L’Amy, Skene, and Ivory, given upon a memorial laid before them *by the*

\* State of the question of Seat Rents, p. 39,

† Do. p. 40.

*Town Council* in the course of last year. This memorial was prepared in reference to questions that might be raised betwixt the town and its creditors, and these gentlemen in their opinion say, "As to the seat rents there is considerably difficulty. We concur, however, generally in the whole substance of the opinions given in 1823 by Lords Newton and Moncreiff, then at the bar. We are very clearly of opinion that seat rents cannot be levied for the encrease of the general revenues or payment of the general debts of the city, or for any other purpose than the support, more or less directly, of the ecclesiastical establishment itself."\*

Supported by such opinions as these, the friends of the Church may safely hold that the Town Council, instead of fostering and promoting the Church, has for a long period been oppressing her people, and rendering her unpopular by *their* exactions. It is well that these opinions point at a remedy for the evils inflicted by such high seat rents; and that though the Establishment has been placed in a most false position by their means, her friends may expect to receive the assistance of the law in recovering her hold even of the affections of the poorest of the people by affording them unrestricted access to her churches.

What may be the strength of the Church's claim to those enormous sums which are in the Town's hands, and which ought to have been applied to ecclesiastical purposes, we do not care at present to enquire. But we consider it to be a legitimate inference from the facts and opinions now before our readers, that they can be no longer levied for the expense of the existing Churches, all of which have been far more than completely paid; and that they must be limited to the amount required either for defraying the current annual expenditure of the Churches, or for building those cheap Churches which are necessary for supplying the wants of the population.

The probable extent of this relief we shall endeavour to state. At present, the net produce of the seat rents exceeds £7100, and the current annual expenditure is about £2000; and when the temporary charge for the rent of the Methodist Chapel ceases, it will not exceed £1500. Taking, however, the expenditure as at present, and deducting it from the £7100, there remains £5100, which is not required for the existing Churches. But as six additional Churches are necessary in order to increase the number to eighteen, corresponding with eighteen parishes, and as there is no immediate prospect of other funds either from the Government or the common good of the Town, their cost and current expense

\* See Appendix, No. III.

must be defrayed out of the seat rents. As we consider, however, their present rate very oppressive, and that the additional Churches would not be all required at the same time, and as every additional Church would, with very reduced seat rents, add to the general means for building the others, we should propose a reduction of 30 per cent from the present *gross* rental of £9100. The probable effect of this would be a reduction of about £2000 on the *net* rental, and a disposable surplus of £3000 for building the additional Churches. In less than two years, one Church might be built and opened, and the present rent of the Methodist Chapel entirely saved. Money might be borrowed on the security of the seat rents of the whole Churches for building at least two more Churches; and in proportion to the increased accommodation, the average rent of the seats necessary to maintain the proposed *gross* rental would be reduced. A very few years would thus suffice for building the six Churches,—and at the end of that period the gross rental might safely be reduced 50 per cent from its present amount; and from the additional accommodation of say 6000 good sittings to the 14,000 at present, the average price of the sittings, which is at present about twelve shillings, might be reduced to four. The effect of these reductions in the rents of the seats, along with the increased accommodation provided, and the consequent subdivision of the parishes, would be to enable the ministers and their elders to exhibit the beneficial operations of the Parochial System, and to recover for the Established Church her hold of the poorer classes in the community. The advantage of the endowments to the poor will be made evident, when they see, that, even supposing the Annuity to be a personal assessment, which, in its effect we do not consider it to be, yet it does not reach them at all, while they would have the privilege of a right to a seat in their parish-church, at a rent merely nominal even to them.\*

\* There are about 23,000 houses in Edinburgh, and the Rents of more than 10,000 of these are below Five Pounds, of which there are probably about 4000 in the Royalty, very few of the tenants of which pay Annuity. If the endowment be applied, without inconsistent conditions, to its proper purposes, it must be evident that it should at least be a benefit to the church-going poor man. It would have shewn a *real* regard for that class, if, when the Council brought in the last Annuity Bill, they had introduced a clause for exempting all houses under about £8 or £10, or fixed a lower rate for that description, as in the Police Bill, and only reduced the rate so far as, deducting that loss from the gain by the Abolition of the Privileges of the College of Justice, would have produced as much as the present rate. If they had not been acting in some measure under the influence of the popular cry against the utility of Establishments, but had been seeking to strengthen and support our own, this would surely have been done.

With these advantages, the principle of a national establishment of religion would get comparatively a fair trial. At present, the community gives an endowment of about £10,000 a-year for the stipends,—there is paid by the town for the current expenditure about £2000, and the church-goers pay the farther sum of £7100 for seat rents. Now, it is a very general impression, that the cost of the Church to the community is the whole of these sums added together, or £19,000. But as the two first items, or £12,000, is all that is paid by the community,—as, on the other hand, the community receives £7100 from the Church for seat rents, and as it receives also above £2100 from the Church-door collections, which go to reduce the general assessment for the poor  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, there is only the difference betwixt the £7100 and the £2100 added together, or betwixt £9200 and £12,000, that the community loses, or the Church gains, *in fact*, from her endowments—that is just £2800. Even this cost is however *neutralized* by the equitable claim of the Church for the mere interest of the enormous Church funds in the Town's hands. That the whole cost of the Church should appear to be provided by the community, *while it in fact* is defrayed by the church-goer, is obviously a great evil, because thereby the Endowment is not known, in any man's experience, to produce the least relief,—he pays as a Churchman just what he would pay if there was no endowment at all, and if he is not a Churchman, he pays part of the endowment without being able to see that even the Churchman derives any benefit.

Some, who admit that the seat rents form a proper Ecclesiastical fund, and are opposed to their application to the general uses of the Town, insist that they should *pro tanto* supersede the Annuity, which would be a means of affording great relief to the community, while the Church would sustain no loss. We would offer one or two remarks upon this proposal, which will probably be frequently repeated as an objection to our plan. In the *first* place, in our statement of the advantage of an adequate Endowment, we have assumed that it consists partly in the State bearing, for the whole community, the expense which would otherwise fall upon the church-goer, and operate as an obstacle to the formation of church-going habits. Now, if the principle of an Endowment be at all sound and expedient, it must be so because it is better than the accidental and uncertain support afforded by seat-rents. The latter are wholly paid by the church-goer, and in a much higher rate, in proportion, by the poorer than by the wealthier classes. An Endowment or annuity is also levied mostly from

the rich, and not at all from the properly poor ; and it is levied as well from the rich who go to no church, as from the church-goer. The burden of the latter must be a lighter burden to each of the community, than seat rents can be to the church-goer. If, then, it be desirable for the State to dispose the community to church-going habits, it is obvious that a statesman will give encouragement, by relieving him as much as possible from every obstacle that might hinder him, and at least remove it from his way thither. But, in the *second* place, if the Endowment were given up at this moment, in order that the seat rents might be applied to pay the stipends, it would be relieving the public from a payment which they cannot prove to be a burden upon them, seeing that their whole connection and interest in Edinburgh has been acquired under that condition ; and if it were surrendered, it would be equivalent to a gift for which no price has been paid. The community would obtain a relief to which they have strictly no claim, and the Church would be perpetually burdened. And, in the *third* place, while it is said that there would still be an Endowment to make up the *deficiency* of the seat rents, there would thereby, however, be created a very strong interest in favour of high seat rents, and a prejudice formed against the Church by her claims for the Endowment. If such a plan were ever adopted, it is plain the Council would, in order to relieve the public from the assessment, try to raise as much revenue out of the seat rents as possible, and would therefore encourage the wealthy classes to attend the City Churches, while it would, as hitherto, allow the poor only the worse and unlet sittings. It would be thus the aim and the interest, in a pecuniary sense, of the public, to press most heavily on that class who were seeking the shelter and privilege of the Church which the law had sanctioned and Endowed. Besides, when the Church shall be most successful in instructing and attaching the poor, the seat rents must necessarily be accommodated to their circumstances, the revenue from them diminished, and a greater assessment required, and the public would thus be made acquainted, in the worst possible way, with the efficiency of the Church.

To give up the Endowment for the sake of seat rents, would be, in short, to abandon the advantages of an Established Church, and to seek refuge under the protection of the Voluntary principle, which is what no man who understands and approves of the principle and advantages of a National Endowment, could consent to.

It is not possible for an Established Church to maintain her ground permanently under the disadvantage of the present seat



rents,—she may enjoy the countenance and approbation of Government,—she may be honoured by the attachment of the educated and the wealthy,—but she presents no bulwark against Dissent. We do not mean that she should have the power of hindering Dissent so far as it proceeds upon conscientious and important grounds of difference; but an Established Church ought to possess privileges, if it is to be maintained at all, which shall operate against the progress and continuance of Dissent. Whether the Established Church be right or wrong in those matters which have originated Dissent, there can be no question that Dissent is an evil to be avoided. But if a man, by becoming a Dissenter, increases his worldly advantages instead of losing any—if he is never urged by any of the privations of his present situation to reconsider the sufficiency of the reasons which led him to secede, or to employ his energies for the correction of those errors in the administration of the Church which may have justified his secession, we think every enlightened man must admit that this is an evil to be deplored. It threatens to perpetuate differences in the Church. On the other hand, by conferring national privileges and national duties upon a Church assumed to be the true one, we present strong motives to every man to unite himself with her, and make it desirable to all to take a common interest in her welfare. The evils we have described, exist in the present condition of the Established Church, and that by their removal the Church may be restored to full efficiency, we are most solicitous for the application of a remedy. That the remedy we have proposed will supersede Dissent, we are not so sanguine as to anticipate; but, as besides giving practical testimony to the value of an Establishment in a peculiar sense to the poor, it will make the *duty* of seeking the union of the Church to coincide with the *interest* of all orthodox sects, and of the nation generally, we do confidently reckon upon an abatement of the strength of Dissent both among the ministers and among the people. Many are Dissenters at this moment merely from convenience, and this we cannot but consider a most unjustifiable ground of separation, and that class we should expect to be restored when the convenience shall be all on the side of the Church. There are very many more who are positively prejudiced against the Church, not least in consequence of the little practical benefit she confers on those who most need her help, and this class, we might hope, would be reconciled, when it is seen that she takes especial charge of the poor, and that she is availing herself of her endowments and extension, to apply the peculiarly valuable system of parochial economy as a means of advancing the subordination of every family

to the authority of her Head. There will remain indeed, at least for a time, many who dissent from the Church upon questions of still greater importance, some of them affecting even her constitution in doctrine and worship. Even that class, however, we would not despair of, for the demonstrated power of an adequate Endowment, as a means of diffusing and maintaining religion with the privileges which it implies to the Church in possession of it, contrasted with their well-meant, but almost necessarily contracted and uncertain efforts, would probably create a disposition towards a reunion, and form a habit of favourably considering everything that would conduce to an end so well calculated to promote the glory of God, and increase the power of the Church, along with the blessings of the gospel, throughout the kingdom.

It follows from these considerations, that there would be a Church in which all have, as citizens, a common interest, and the reformation and right administration of which all men, however they might be temporarily separated from it, would feel themselves peculiarly bound to promote. As a National Church, all will admit the importance of her being a sound and a useful Church. Sweep away all national religion, and there remain, or their rise up, multitudes of sects, none of which have any claim to pre-eminence in the eyes of the rest, and towards a union among which there are no motives of interest which are likely to have any prevailing power. In the United States, we see this exemplified to a remarkable and deplorable extent. There the national opinion is never concentrated upon the subject. Every man does what is right in his own eyes, and his circumstances dispose him to habits of indifference about the opinions and conduct of his neighbours. The multiplication of the divisions proceeding generally from a perfect disregard of authority as to matters of opinion, leads to a general apathy, and a complete misapprehension of the importance of truth and an utter unconsciousness, that it may be our fault if we do not know wherein it consists. How melancholy an illustration of these evils was afforded at a meeting of Congress, when an individual told that senate, that the members of his family belonged to twelve different sects ! \*

\* We have a better illustration of the progress of the Dissenting principle in our own Town, than we had any idea of when we penned this sentence. Nor is it surprising after all, when it is considered how much the restraining moral power of national religious institutions has been obstructed. There are, it seems, in Edinburgh, *ten congregations* of Baptists, and there are *the same number of Sects* ! a fact, which, considering the question of Infant Baptism as the chief ground of

While we do not wish to disguise the declension of the Established Church, in common with the Established and Dissenting Churches of England, during a portion of the last century, even in the highest walks of her duty, we are not sure but that the greater amount of the evils under which she is now labouring, is traceable to her neglect of this duty. If, at the beginning, she had looked upon the Dissenters with more Christian kindness, from a consideration simply of her duties as a *National*, as well as a *Christian* Church, their re-union, we may believe, would not have been so remote as it now appears. That she has for some time—long before the Voluntary controversy arose, been returning to a sense of this duty, cannot be doubted, though even on the part of the best disposed men on both sides, there is not yet entertained an adequate sense of its importance.

As being instrumental to the efficiency of the Church, and, as we believe, preparing the way for a more favourable estimate of her advantages by some at least of the Dissenters, and thus forming or encreasing their disposition to a re-union, we press upon the friends of the Church the urgent necessity of taking up the question of the seat rents, and of securing to the poor, and to the general community, without delay, those benefits which the Established Church was intended and is fitted to confer. The time is peculiarly suitable, as the question will be immediately brought before the Court by other parties; and the opportunity thus offered should not be lost, of vindicating the rights of the Church, which form the best part of the patrimony of the poor. The principle is so simple, so plain—it is so legitimate an inference from the higher principle upon which a National Endowment rests,—it commends itself so completely to the common sense of every man who understands the subject,—and it is so accordant with the law of the land, as we have high authority for believing, that the duty of the friends of the Church to come forward *now* seems strong, and their prospects of success for the cause which they love, to be placed beyond the reach even of doubt.

The preceding statements have been prepared chiefly with a view to the accomplishment of this object. If the Established Church in Edinburgh shall be entrusted by a favourable judg-

distinction, seems to shew, that the more minute the differences are, the more likely are they to occasion new divisions. We wish the evils of a disposition to dissent, and the duty of *seeking* union with the whole members of the Church of Christ were more thought of, not for party, but for Christian ends.

ment of the courts of law with enlarged freedom, such we believe is the ardour of her ministers, and so wide spread is the attachment of her people, that we entertain the firmest conviction that her advantages will be employed in the furtherance of the peculiar ends of a National and Christian Church, and that her labours and success will be demonstrated by the restored affections of the great body of the community. Our object may be resisted, because our success will weaken the cause of Dissent; and while we must condemn conduct so unworthy of a Christian profession, we admit that the temptation is strong, and it will not be wonderful, if it shall sometimes prevail. We may regret if the Dissenters shall sustain any temporal loss; but we must not compromise our principles from respect to their circumstances. We hold these principles to be beneficial not to one party or to one church, but to every man in the country. For the sake of the country it is right to maintain them, and in maintaining them it will reap an abundant reward. If, however, when the Church asks from the Law the sanction of her just rights and privileges, she is met by the objection that it will injure the rights and properties of the Dissenters, it will then become as the not dissimilar application to the State by the Church, for an extension of her provision threatens to become, a question of existence, and for this issue the Church will be prepared. If Dissent be so weak that it will fail before the presence of an adequate National Establishment, we know not why it should be feared. It cannot rest on very secure foundations when its superstructure may be so easily overthrown. The Church is indeed told that there is enough of accommodation for the community in all the Established and Dissenting places of worship; and as there are 20,000 unlet sittings in Edinburgh, she is advised to build no more churches until these are filled. The Presbyterian is thus to wait until the Episcopalians, the Independents, and the Baptists, the Unitarians, and, not least, the Roman Catholics, have recruited their strength, and filling their present Churches, have also built more to fill. Leaving the orthodox Dissenter to his present opinions and attachments, there is still an extensive field upon which the Church may exert all her energies. There are fifty thousand inhabitants of Edinburgh who have not yielded to the yoke of religious Dissent, and who are living in the habitual neglect of the public ordinances of religion; and it is for their redemption that the Established Church has been most peculiarly appointed. It is not enough that there are 8000 unlet seats in the Established, and 12,000 in the Dissenting Churches,—for there are so many unlet, and the

Dissenters have failed to entice them back. The seat rents in the Church must not only be reduced, but there must be other means employed suitable to the urgency, and importance, and difficulty of the duty; and in the resources of the Parish system of the Establishment will be found means, the efficacy of which has been attested by the mighty achievements of the first and second Reformation in Scotland. If the Dissenters remind us again of their 12,000 unlet seats, we say then they are opposing the extension of the Church that they may be themselves extended. The Establishment is to wait until the Secession, and the Relief, and the Unitarian, and the Roman Catholics, have recruited their strength, and it will be seen not only till they have filled their present churches, but until they have also built more. To wait for the letting of these seats would be like waiting till the river should run by; yet this is the argument stripped of its disguise. And for this shall the Established Church,—which should be the most precious blessing of the poor, and the protector and the friend of all,—stultify the ends of her existence, by abandoning this great multitude, a large proportion of whom *profess* that they belong to her, to the random, accidental, and temporary zeal of the Voluntary principle? If she should not be enabled to put forth any adequate efforts for the recovery of these miserable outcasts, then indeed can she no longer be the national Church, nor accomplish to the State the duty she has undertaken. If she is to be a Church at all, let her be made efficient, and let her not be called upon not only to release those who have chosen another faith from every obligation, but to leave in moral misery and destitution those for whom the Dissenter is doing nothing effectually. So long as she exists she cannot surrender the responsibility she has undertaken of seeking, in order that through the grace of heaven she may save the souls which neither the Roman Catholic, the Unitarian, nor the Jew can save, and to rescue those from sin and danger over whom the mere existence of unlet seats in orthodox churches has no availing power. It is in these circumstances that the Church has looked around the ranks of the orthodox Dissenters, and seeing how little they have done, and how little their system or their means enable them to do for reclaiming the poorest and the most dependent on the consolations of religion, even for the present life, that she is now hastening to *their* relief, assured that in this field she may reasonably look for her most precious and enduring trophies, and that by her labours there, she will most surely recover for herself the character of which politicians of every party in our



large towns have sought to despoil her, of being the Church of the People. This is the true path of honour to the Church, in which, not seeking but shunning the enmity even of her present opponents, she may move onwards among every class and condition of society, and trust that at length, by the exhibition of her holy doctrines and heavenly examples, she may recover the outcast, and even reunite the separated, that all may be one, even as He is One.

## NOTES.

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### NOTE A, p. 5.

IF, instead of making the condition of the Churches in May last the basis of our comparison, we had taken the present year; and although the Old Church, notwithstanding its special circumstances, had been added to the twelve City Churches, the proportion of *let* sittings would have been greater than we have stated. In consequence of the addition of the Assembly Aisle, where the Old Church congregation now meets, the number of sittings in the City Churches is increased by 575, but they are diminished by a recent measurement 154 seats, so that the entire encrease of sittings this year is 421. Now, by a return given in to the Town Council, dated 20th February last, it appears that there were 392 more sittings than let than at the corresponding period of last year, which gives a less proportion of unlet seats in the whole Churches than there was last year. Nor is this encrease confined to the City Churches. We know that there has taken place even more than a corresponding encrease in Stockbridge, Buccleuch, Hope Park, Roxburgh Place, New Street, and Lady Glenorchy's Chapels. The attendance is also much better at the preaching stations, which are opened in eight of the thirteen city parishes under the superintendence of the clergymen.

The only alterations in the accommodations of the Dissenters within the last year, consist in the shutting up of Brighton Street Chapel, which is described as containing 1500 sittings, and in the opening of Freemasons' Hall with 600, and the Roman Catholic Chapel, Lothian Street, with 1000 sittings, making a loss of 1500, and a gain of 1600, or on the whole, an addition of 100 sittings. By these changes, the *orthodox* Dissenters have *lost* 900 sittings, while the Roman Catholics have *added* 1000. It is only fair to state, that the places of worship which have been recently opened, are better attended than was Brighton Street Chapel. But, on the other hand, notwithstanding that Professor Paxton's is better let this year, yet, from the worse letting of most of the other Dissenting Churches, the result of a comparison betwixt the Established and Dissenting Churches for this year, would be decidedly more favourable to the former than the comparison which we have made. It is also worthy of remark, that while the Unitarians and the Papists are building larger places of worship, neither the Secession, the Relief, the Baptists, nor the Independents, have built any for six or seven years,—nor do we believe has their attendance encreased in the same proportion since that time, with the attendance in the Established Church, though the latter has lost some hundred sitters by the Rowite controversy,

## NOTE B, p. 7.

It will perhaps be observed, that the Chapel in Nicolson Square is reckoned as the accommodation of the New North Parish congregation, and again to the Methodists. In point of fact, the Chapel is occupied by the former in the forenoon and afternoon of the Sabbath, while the Methodists occupy a hall below, which contains about two-thirds of the number of sittings in the Chapel. There can be no doubt that the Chapel should at any rate be considered as part of the accommodation of the City Churches, and we thought ourselves at liberty to reckon it also to the Methodists, because, 1st, The Methodists, in their return to the Town Council, described it as their own, and stated the number of let, unlet, and free seats belonging to them in it; and it was impossible to connect these seats, which were one-third more in number, with the hall below; and, 2d, Though the Methodists meet below during the forenoon and afternoon, they meet in the Chapel in the evening of the Sabbath, when their *principal* diet for public worship is held.

But it seems, that having observed in the newspapers the comparison betwixt the City and the Dissenting Churches, Bailie M'Laren, who is a very indefatigable opponent, has objected to the accuracy of the statements with which it was accompanied, and given as a specimen of their inaccuracies the fact of the Methodist Chapel being reckoned to the Methodists, when, in truth, they met in a room below. Now Bailie M'Laren ought not to have stated this objection, because he himself has reckoned the Chapel occupied by the New North congregation to the Methodists, in a Table of the Accommodation of the Established and Voluntary Churches in Edinburgh, which is in our possession, signed with his initials, and which was circulated long before our comparison appeared.\* It was

\* This table is entitled "Working of the Voluntary Principle," and under that head the Chapels of Ease are described as "Voluntary Churches." The author, however, knows perfectly well that they do not exhibit the working of the Voluntary principle. The greater number of them indeed were indebted for their existence to the Endowment principle, which enabled their originators to do what in connection with a Voluntary Church no body of men has ever yet done. The four chapels of St Cuthbert's, particularly, were founded by the kirk-session; and it was mainly owing to their responsibility, as ministers and elders of the parish, and to the means placed at their disposal in that character, that they were ever thought of. Is there an instance in all Scotland, or any other country, where the kirk-session of a Voluntary Congregation, or where such a congregation commenced, and conducted through its early difficulties a single additional church in the same town for the more adequate instruction of the people? There are indeed splits and quarrels enough among them,—for at least four of the fourteen Secession and Relief Churches in Edinburgh originated in intestine divisions,—but they never put forth an effort like that. Can they explain how, with *sounder* principles, they should never have given *equal* evidence of their zeal for the instruction of others? Besides, when the author of the table we refer to described Chapels of Ease as Voluntary Churches, he could not but know that the sense in which they are Voluntary is not consistent with his meaning of the term, because, while the supporters acknowledge their own duty to provide means of religious instruction for all *where the State has failed in doing so*, they nevertheless consider it the duty of the State to make the provision. In their view their efforts are in aid of the State, or they are a substitute where the State will not do any thing. In his view the Voluntary principle is *exclusive*; he denies the *duty* of the State, and protests even against its *right*. It may be convenient for the Voluntaries to confound this distinction, because thus they will delude some ignorant and weak people, and they may even pacify their own consciences by fancying there is no difference. The distinction is, however, important and practical; and it is proper to state and insist upon it whenever, as in the instance before us, our opponents are seeking, by neglecting it, to gain an *unfair* advantage for their principles.

repeated in the memorial to the Lord Chancellor Brougham in September last, and understood to have been prepared by the same gentleman; and the correctness of the table and memorial has again been attested by Bailie M'Laren in the Statement of the Scottish Central Board, in which, as it was published since he made his objection, he should, if he thought it ought not to have been so reckoned, have made the requisite correction. He has not only reckoned the Chapel in these documents to the Methodists, but though he had their return to the Council before him, showing their accommodation to be 1248 sittings, of which 324 were let, 192 free, and 732 unlet, he, upon the authority of Mr Clason's pamphlet, which he had the evidence of the return, was in that particular incorrect, allowed them 1400 sittings, and, by applying a most arbitrary rule, *stated about 1100 of the sittings as let, and 100 more as occupied, that is 700 more than the let and free seats given in the Methodists' own return, and 500 more than the room below, which only, he says, should have been reckoned, could contain.* This is a specimen of the accuracy of that gentleman's own calculations, and may give some idea how impartially his statements are framed.

#### NOTE C, p. 12.

There is at present no more popular argument against the Church, than the fact of her having so many unlet seats. We have seen how easy it is to reduce the great number that are published to the world, by simply shewing how many are bad, and how many, though unlet, are yet occupied. We do not, however, pretend to account for the whole unlet seats on these grounds. Indeed, the best administered church in the world has no security against that evil. There may be even no party to blame. The minister may labour in season and out of season, but he cannot command popularity. He may not be comparatively successful in the pulpit, and yet his labours may accomplish great good in his parish; and it is very possible for us to deceive ourselves in regard to the efficiency of a clergyman, whose attractive pulpit talents may sufficiently explain the crowded attendance in his Church. A parish may be diligently superintended, though the Church is ill filled, and it may be neglected even while the Church is crowded.

But while, however, we do not allow, that although there were a greater number of unlet seats than exist, it would be conclusive even against the present efficiency of the endowments, there is one other explanation of the unlet seats, which we think it of importance to state, as it has been almost altogether overlooked, while the evil has been attributed entirely to other causes, as if the circumstances we refer to had no existence. We allude to the very extraordinary proportion of aged men among the Edinburgh ministers, and to the fact, that among the Dissenters the proportion is most remarkably less.

We remember when Nicolson Street, Broughton Place, and Portsburgh Chapels were occupied by aged ministers, how ill attended they were; and when we observe from the returns how comparatively well attended they are now, we trace the difference to the appointment of young, popular, and active men. In the former case, though there were thus three out of the five then existing Secession

Churches thinly attended, we should not have felt we were acting a very Christian part, if, instead of looking to these temporary, and in every church occasionally occurring contingencies, we took occasion either to allude disrespectfully to the infirmities of age, or to ridicule the whole system of the Secession, and triumph over its decline. And yet this is scarcely different from what the Dissenters, and some Churchmen too, are doing now by the Edinburgh Establishment. In the nine Secession Churches there is only one old minister, and he is assisted by his son; and in the other thirty-six Dissenting Churches, there are only six old ministers, or seven altogether over forty-five Dissenting Churches, *being only one-sixth*. Of these forty-five Churches, six (including the late Mr Aikman's, as during the time to which our statements refer, he was still alive,) were under the pastoral care of old ministers, *or not one-seventh*. But in the City Churches, not including the Old Church, as we throw it out of our calculations altogether, there were at the time we speak of six old ministers, and one laid aside by bad health, out of sixteen, *being almost one-half*. In these respects the Dissenters form a remarkable contrast with the Church, and they are thus enabled to appear in a peculiarly advantageous light. And yet, though our opponents profess all along to be struggling not so much for political rights as for the rights and privileges of conscience, the present condition of the Church, as if it was not thus in many respects accidental, is held up to the public view as its natural and ordinary condition; and though the Church has entered, and is rapidly proceeding upon a career of improvement, features in her aspect, which are in a great measure attributable to causes and influences that have now passed away, are dragged forth, and sometimes exaggerated as good reasons for restricting and paralyzing a system which has permitted such blemishes to appear on its surface. If the administration of the Church is not so vigorously administered where there are so many old ministers, can the Dissenters not remember their own experience of this evil, for which we should be glad certainly to discover some remedy consistently with the respect which is due to the incumbents as well as to the character of the Church, and can they contemplate a perpetual freedom from its recurrence? If unfortunate appointments have taken place in the Church, are Dissenters altogether exempt from these, that they treat them in the present controversy as if such appointments were distinguishing features of a Law Church? And if we do not attempt to vindicate all the appointments that have been made in the Church, can even the orthodox Dissenters assure us, that when the charters of the Church become of no value they will only make good appointments? They may, amid their anticipations of the approaching triumph of their principles, dream of so perfect an administration, but the history of the world, and the power and presence of that greatest of all evils, the radical and universal depravity of our nature, demonstrate the futility of so wild and so extravagant a fancy. How much better a moral position would these men be occupying if, when indulging their dislike of Establishments and expatiating on their evils, they did not argue so much as if all these evils were peculiar to Establishments, if they made even some allowance for faults which are of the age as much as of the Church, which have appeared in Voluntary Churches as well as in Endowed, and against which the one has no more security than the other?



## NOTE D, p. 19.

In a Memorial laid before Lord Brougham by the Edinburgh Voluntary Church Association, the results of which have been adopted in the recently published Statement of "The Scottish Central Board," and which has been referred to in a former Note, the number of unlet sittings in the Dissenting Churches is stated at 8400, while those in the Churches connected with the Establishment are represented at nearly 12,000. This result is brought out by the following process:—"The seats let in the Chapels of Ease are calculated from the proportions ascertained to be let in the fifteen Endowed Churches, and the numbers let in the other Voluntary Churches are calculated from the proportions ascertained to be let in the Churches of the United Associate Synod." Our calculations have proceeded upon inquiry into the facts of each case; and the rule which is adopted by the Memorial, is for the following among other reasons altogether fallacious:—1st. *It assumes that the Chapels are not better let than the Parish Churches, contrary to all the reasonings of the Voluntaries against the collegiate charges and the evils of endowments,* although the Chapels are much more comfortable than most of the Parish Churches, though there are no sittings in them obscured by pillars, though the appointments in them have been almost all recent, and therefore likely to be more acceptable to the people, and though, in fact, they *are* much better let. 2d. *It assumes that the other Dissenting Churches are not worse let than those of the United Associate Synod, because the accommodation of that body has encreased much more rapidly than that of any other.* But this fact proves nothing when the cause of it is explained. The encrease of accommodation proceeded from the demand,—two of the Churches were begun as a speculation because of the demand, unconnected with any particular religious body; and it is reasonable to suppose that these Churches would in consequence be better filled. And as this encrease of Secession Churches being much greater than that of any other connection, might proceed from the greater popularity of that body, which we believe it enjoyed chiefly from its supposed resemblance to the Establishment, it is impossible to draw any inference from its condition applicable to the other Dissenting places of worship. 3d. *The state of one religious body is no criterion of the state of another.* The Secession is popular as well as the Relief and the Roman Catholic, but most of the others are not; and there is, in the circumstance of the popularity of some, and the unpopularity of others, a broad ground of difference. In order to a fair comparison, the circumstances must be parallel. The City Churches may be compared with one body, and they may be shewn, for instance, to have nearly a third of their sittings unlet, while the Catholics have none at all; but the result of that comparison, though it may establish the fact, that the City Churches are worse let than the Roman Catholic Churches, cannot justify the inference, that the City Churches are worse let than *other* Dissenting places of worship. By this process, however, the Memorial has brought out 11,800 unlet seats in the Church, and 8000 among the Dissenters, instead of 8000 in the Church and 12,000 among the Dissenters. As a specimen of the absurdity of this mode of calculation, we may mention, that it gives to the Methodists 477 unlet sittings, though they have, in

fact, 1100 unlet; to the Independents 580, though they have 1170 unlet; and to the Baptists 585, though they have 1300 unlet.

We shall give one or two additional specimens of the spirit and accuracy of the Memorial. *1st.* It includes the Roman Catholic Chapel in Lothian Street, though it was not *built* when the Memorial was presented, and yet the sittings are stated as all let! When they thus find their own rule not sufficiently liberal, they put it aside, without ceremony, and inquire into the *real* attendance, as in the case of the Roman Catholic Chapel in Broughton Street, which being fully let, is so stated. But though they had also the Return of the Methodist Chapel before them to correct their average in regard to it, they do not avail themselves of it, because it would have *added* some hundreds to the *unlet* sittings among the Dissenters. This different mode of treating the two cases, evidently proceeds not from a wish to state the truth, but to serve a purpose. *2d.* The Memorial includes the Methodist Chapel in Duke Street, Leith! *3d.* It contains an Appendix relating to the number of let and unlet seats in Perth, in which a Chapel of Ease, which was then only building, is included, and the whole of its sittings are described as *unlet*, though the Roman Catholic Chapel in Edinburgh, which was then also building, was stated as *all let*. There is evidently a great difference betwixt a Chapel of Ease and a Roman Catholic Chapel! *4th.* It appears also from an additional Statement, that in Perth, among the Dissenters, there are 4372 let sittings, and 4321 unlet, while it has been conclusively established, that in the Parish Churches there are not more than 500 out of 4000 unlet sittings. How this information came to be introduced in the Memorial, it is not easy to conceive. But it is difficult to imagine a stronger argument against the Voluntary system. In comparison with these Dissenting Churches the Church of Edinburgh is in a most prosperous state. That they could make such a statement without seeing that it proves most satisfactorily, the weakness of their system only shews that they utterly misconceive the whole question. They seem to have no idea of an Established Church doing more than is implied in these half filled churches, where the minister preaches to those that come to him. In the view of the friends of the Establishment, the Church, though essential, is the least part of the requisite apparatus. There must be the minister, whose duty it shall be to prevail on his parishioners to fill his unoccupied seats; there must be the elders to assist him, and the parish school to prepare the way for him. To what purpose is it that there is enough of Church accommodation in Perth, if there are no means also provided for rendering it available to all? Are the people to flock to Church though there are no means taken for imbuing them with a taste for ordinances? Will the experience of the Voluntary Churches in Perth not satisfy them that they have not the means?

#### NOTE E, p. 20.

By decisions of the Court of Session, accommodation is required to be provided for two-thirds of the examinable persons, that is, those above twelve years of age, assuming that the remaining third must be necessarily absent from church; and

by calculations made by Dr Cleland, it seems, that according to this rule, accommodation for forty-six of each hundred inhabitants is sufficient. We know, that in some country parishes where the people live in the neighbourhood of the church, and are all church-goers, this rule is not sufficiently liberal. It assumes the absence of all children below twelve years of age, which is an error in fact. It is, however, much less applicable to Edinburgh even than to the country, 1st, Because, allowing it to be correct to hold, *in regard to the whole inhabitants*, that one-third of the examinable persons will be necessarily absent from church, and though it may, *in that view*, be fair enough to require accommodation from the heritors only for the remainder, it assumes that *each family* requires only to take seats for two-thirds of its examinable members, which is a mistake. In Edinburgh the seats being let are appropriated, and nobody is, generally speaking, allowed regularly to occupy them except those who have paid for them, and therefore *each family* must obtain sufficient accommodation for as many as may be even occasionally present at one time. When the head of a family takes a seat, *he* cannot reckon upon one-third of the examinable members being absent, though that *may* be a true average of the *whole* families in the church, and though, if it was merely room within the church that was wanted, the rule might sufficiently apply. But he wants room in his own pew for his family, and the absence of other persons from their seats will not give him that accommodation. Accordingly, we believe it will be found generally, that seats have been taken for more than two-thirds of the examinable persons in the families connected with the congregation. We see additional evidence of the unsuitableness of the rule laid down by the Court, to the circumstances of Edinburgh, in the attendance on the churches which are fully let. There, even on the days when the congregation attend best, the church is never filled *with the sitters*. There is always a very considerable number necessarily absent, not less, we are sure, than one out of ten. Now, the law has reckoned these persons as necessarily absent, and therefore required accommodation only for the remainder; and if the law were applied to Edinburgh strictly, to enable us to judge of the number of church-goers from the number of let seats, we should *first* be reckoning the necessarily absent *as not needing accommodation*, and we should be reckoning the same persons over again, in explaining the fact of the *accommodation* which has, notwithstanding the rule of law, been *provided* by these persons for themselves, *not being occupied*. What in the country churches has been the cause of there being less accommodation provided, is the reason why a considerable proportion of the accommodation is, in Edinburgh, though let not uniformly *occupied*, and therefore the rule of the Court cannot regulate our calculation of the number of church-goers from the number of let seats in Edinburgh. 2d, Because it assumes, contrary to the fact in Edinburgh, that all the members of each family attend in the same place of worship. The attendance of different members of the same families in different churches, makes the rule of law, which we have explained, still less suitable to the large towns. When families take seats, assuming the connection of all with one church, they will generally calculate upon the absence of a certain proportion, particularly of the servants, and take fewer seats accordingly. If, however, the members of the family take seats in different churches, there is less room for an allowance, on account of the contingencies of sickness, &c., than

there is in large families. The less a family is, the less room there is for a reckoning of the accidents which may detain its members from church; and it is the same with a large family which is divided by its attendance at different churches. Every man knows, when his family are divided, and go to two or three different churches, that he must take more seats than if they went to one. The practice, however, of going to different churches from the rest of the family, is particularly common among servants. Among the Dissenters, the families generally secure their attendance along with them. In the Establishment, the families are neither so attentive to their duties as moral guardians of their servants, nor so wise in their generation, as to guard against the evil consequences of this practice to the church. We have no doubt there are not fewer than 3000 servants in families connected with the Establishment who go to Dissenting places of worship. Now, servants when sitting in church with the families, do not each of them require to have a seat, because they are not all in church at the same time; but when they go to other churches, they must each of them take a seat, and hence another cause of absence, for which the law has required less accommodation in the country,—in Edinburgh, is an explanation of the let seats not being regularly occupied.

3d. The rule is not applicable to our calculations, because we have the official seats of the Council, the Judges, the Elders, &c., among the let seats; but as these persons must be supposed to have seats besides with their families, though both seats are occupied, yet in calculating from those let or occupied, how large a proportion of the inhabitants attend church, they ought to be thrown out of view, otherwise these official persons would be twice reckoned. The seats of this class in all the places of worship in Edinburgh, cannot be fewer than 800.

4th. Because the rule assumes, that every parishioner attends in his own church. Now, allowing Edinburgh to be considered as one parish, there is still a considerable number of persons who attend its churches from Leith, Duddingston, Liberton, and other parishes in the neighbourhood. The Episcopalians have no church to the south or west near Edinburgh, and the members of that communion in these directions generally have seats, even though they may not attend regularly in one or other of their chapels; indeed, many wealthy families keep their seats, although they are very seldom in town. The Old Light Seceders, the Cameronians, the Roman Catholics, and many other lesser sects, have no churches out of Edinburgh, in Leith or in the neighbourhood, and therefore many of their sitters do not belong to the districts over which our tables have extended.

5th. Because in Edinburgh there are several hundred persons who take seats in more churches than one, and there are many of the wealthier families who take more seats than they require, besides the considerable additional number which are taken in consequence of the seats, especially in the newer churches being over let; all of which ought to be deducted from the let seats when inquiring the number of church-goers. To what amount the attendance in the Edinburgh churches is of this description, it is impossible to say with any certainty; but it cannot be doubted that many hundreds of the seats are let to that class.

And, 6th, Because the census in 1831 did not include the whole population for whom church accommodation ought to be provided. It was taken up, it will be remembered, in July, that is, when the College students are in the

country, and when a large proportion of the higher classes have left town. Besides, allowance ought to be made in every large town, in reference to the present subject, for the number of people who are on business, or otherwise, absent for a short period. This class is very considerable, and though at any one time a large proportion are out of town, yet as they are mostly here for some months of every year, they ought all to be reckoned as having or needing seats.

The only description of seats which we have not noticed, but which might have been reckoned among the let, is the occupied unlet seats in the City and twelve Dissenting Churches, which will amount probably in all to about 2000. Even, however, taking these into account, we think, for the reasons we have stated, that we have been justified in merely doubling the let and free seats to ascertain the number of church-goers; and we are convinced, and our readers have now before them some of the materials for judging for themselves, that our statement of the number of those who seldom or never go to any place of worship, is below the truth.

The minuteness of these observations may appear vexatious to some of our readers, but we felt anxious to guard our results from animadversion, and to leave no room for doubting the reasonableness of our calculations. At the same time, it would be much more satisfactory, if by any means it could be truly ascertained what number, and description of persons, go to no church,—but there is very great difficulty even in the attempt.

#### NOTE F, p. 27.

We have no sympathy with the man who makes a comparison betwixt the charitable contributions of his own and those of other sects, for the purpose of gaining more credit from the world to his own people; and we should not certainly have thought of comparing the collections in the City and Dissenting Churches, if it had not been provoked by one of the most audacious of the statements that have been made on the other side. Some time ago the *Scotsman*, the principal organ of the Voluntary cause, in an article against the Edinburgh Church, said, "The gross sum collected at the doors of the nine Dissenting Chapels in 1833, was £2416—of the nine City Churches, £862!"\* When the results of our comparative statements of the Collections in the City and Dissenting Churches are remembered, it may puzzle our readers to reconcile them with this extraordinary assertion. It only, however, furnishes an additional instance of the fact, that there is nothing like the jugglery of arithmetic for imposing upon the public—and truly the Voluntaries are accomplished adepts in that art. The statement looks exceedingly plausible, but there is no truth in it. 1st, The comparison is *unfair*, because it contrasts the whole nine Secession Churches, including four which are far better supported than any other Dissenting Churches in Edinburgh, with the *nine worst* of the city Churches, being those in the Old Town. 2d, It *contrasts the collections of 8472 sitters in Dissenting Churches, with those of 4424 sitters in the City Churches!* And, 3d, The extraordinary collections in the City Churches, which are almost equal to the ordinary collections, *are altogether omitted!*

\* *Scotsman*, April 30, 1834.



The *Scotsman*, in the same article, insinuates that the members of the Established Church are less liberal than those of the Dissenting Churches. "In addition to the large sum just stated, four of the Dissenting Chapels collected £670 for the support of missions. Did the congregations of all the nine churches furnish an equal sum for this pious purpose?" The sentiment in this quotation was so general among Dissenters, and the effect of it and similar statements so injurious to the character of the Established Church, that however disagreeable and invidious it might appear, we considered it our duty sometime ago to make some inquiries into the proportions subscribed by the members of Established and Dissenting Churches to some of the Religious and Charitable Societies in the town. The results of these inquiries were published in consequence, and we had hoped to hear no more of the liberality of Dissenters in comparison with Churchmen.

We observe, however, that in several of the petitions addressed to the Legislature against the extension of the Established Church, the great liberality of the Dissenters is again boasted of. In the petition, for example, from Broughton Place congregation, which was published the other day in the newspapers, the following paragraph appears, shewing what is done by it for Christian objects:—

"In the year 1820, *they, without any assistance*, built the place of Worship where they observe the ordinances of religion, in a district of the city at that time entirely destitute, so far as the Establishment was concerned, of adjacent Church accommodation, *at an expense of more than £7000*; and *besides* the support they individually give to Bible, Missionary, and other religious Societies, *which is not less than that of their brethren in the Establishment*, they, as a congregation, are expending annually on the maintenance of the Ministry and Ordinances of the gospel, the support of their Poor, and the extension of Christianity at home and abroad, about £1400. Your petitioners advert to these facts for the purpose of shewing that their opposition to this measure does not originate in hostility to, or carelessness about its avowed object."

Now, we cannot think that it was *intended* to convey the impression, which persons who do not know the circumstances, *must* however form from the perusal of this extract. The petitioners say, that in the year 1820, they *without any assistance*, built their present church at an expense of more than £7000. This statement would have been more correct, if it had distinctly set forth what sum of money was actually contributed at the time when the church was built by the congregation—how much of it was *borrowed*, and how many thousands of the original cost are still unpaid. It is quite true that the congregation became liable for the whole sums borrowed; but we suspect that the petitioners will be understood to refer not merely to what they were bound to pay, but to what they actually did pay. They also say, that besides what is subscribed by the individuals of the congregation to Bible and Missionary Societies, and similar institutions, the congregation contributes £1400 a-year to the support of Christianity at home and abroad. But of this sum of £1400, about £800 consists of seat rents, which is given in order to maintain divine ordinances *among themselves*, and £200 is collected by a Congregational Missionary Society, which supersedes, to a great extent, the contributions of the individuals of the congregation more directly to these purposes. We are very far, however, from questioning the liberality of Broughton Place congregation, for though it is the wealthiest of the Presbyterian Dissenting congregations, and therefore ought to do more than the others, it, in fact, excepting Rose Street Secession Church, contributes far more in proportion than do any

of the others. They are not entitled, however, to unlimited credit for this expenditure of £1400. They may properly enough tell how much they collect, but instead of taking credit for the whole, as evincing their Christian *liberality*, they ought to have explained how much was required on account of their debt, how much for their own ecclesiastical expenses,—that is, they should have explained how much of that sum is spent *among themselves*, and how much is *given away*. Least of all were they entitled to say, that *besides contributing £1400 as a congregation, they individually give not less support to Bible, Missionary, and other religious societies, than their brethren of the Establishment*. There is an appearance of liberality here, as the petitioners seem willing to throw aside what their Congregational Societies collect, and to be content with comparing what they individually give *over and above* with the whole subscriptions of the Church. But then they say, that even upon that ground they will be found not to give less support to such Societies than does the Church. So far, however, from asking such a display of generosity, the latter can afford to allow the Dissenters the full benefit of all their contributions, through whatever channels, to religious or charitable purposes, because she will find it easy to demonstrate that she is far in advance of them in her benefactions. It is to be remarked, that no inference can be drawn as to the contributions of Dissenters generally from those of one congregation; and, indeed, if we were to consider Broughton Place a fair specimen of the others, we should arrive at a result, in regard to the rest, very wide of the truth, even though many of the ministers, either from private fortune, or the profits of trade, are less dependent upon their congregations. The truth is, that very few of the Dissenting congregations do, or can afford to do, much for the cause of general Christianity. Their debts, and their own current expenses, form a burden sufficiently hard to bear. We sympathize, as Christian men, with them, in the difficulties against which many of them have to struggle, and we esteem it one of the great evils of their present condition, that they can contribute little more than what is required for congregational purposes. The mere support of their churches affords no true exercise of Christian charity, seeing that they are often under almost a legal necessity of doing so much. Where there are Endowments, there is no room for such claims, and what is given, is given quite freely, a circumstance which we hold to be one of the peculiar advantages possessed by those who are connected with the Establishment.

As the Dissenters, however, seem determined to have the public believe, that of the two parties they are the most zealous and charitable, and as if they are so in the measure of their gifts, the value of these gifts must be enhanced by the consideration of their less opulent circumstances, the friends of the Church have no course of duty left but that of defending its reputation and influence, by shewing that such assertions are utterly unfounded in fact. We therefore again publish a statement, carefully prepared, of the number of subscribers, to some religious and charitable societies, belonging to the Established Church and Episcopal Communion, compared with the number of Dissenting subscribers, with the proportion of subscriptions and donations by each. The Episcopalians are not distinguished from the Scottish Church, chiefly from the difficulty experienced in discriminating them; but as there are not, we believe, a dozen Episcopalian Voluntaries in Edinburgh, and

as the body is nearly related to the Established Church in the south, there appears to be no reason, so far as the present question is concerned, why they should appear on the other side. There is the less reason for distinguishing them, that very many who repudiate Voluntary opinions, are included in this view among the Dissenters. The materials have been drawn from reports of different years, shewing that the result does not appear to be affected by the reports being taken before or since this controversy began.

## RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

	Subscribers.		Subscriptions.	
	Est.	Dis.	Est.	Dis.
Gaelic School Society, 1827, . . .	354	63	£480	£67
Scot. Miss. Soc. with Old and New Town				
Auxiliaries, 1833, . . . . .	525	60	487	58
Edinburgh Bible Society, 1830, . .	381	50	450	50
British and Foreign Auxiliary Soc., 1833,	79	55	56	46
Gratis Sabbath School Society, 1834, .	170	42	60	14
Sabbath School Union, 1833, . . .	85	28	39	8
Infant School Society, 1832, . . .	565	60	780	66
Highland Missionary Society, 1833, .	84	36	30	12
Moravian Missions, 1833, . . . .	130	26	122	13
Edinburgh City Mission, 1832-3, . .	650	107	630	114
	<hr/> 3023	<hr/> 527	<hr/> £3128	<hr/> £448

## CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

	Subscribers.		Subscriptions.	
	Est.	Dis.	Est.	Dis.
Strangers' Friend Society, 1829, . .	314	56	£176	£24
Magdalene Asylum, 1832, . . . .	225	27	156	13
House of Refuge, 1832 and 1833, . .	300	16	600	38
Destitute Sick, 1833, . . . . .	520	101	570	63
New Town Dispensary, 1829, . . . .	500	38	263	15
Society for Clothing Poor, 1834, . .	194	20	80	7
Old Men's Society, 1833, . . . . .	156	17	135	15
	<hr/> 2209	<hr/> 275	<hr/> £1980	<hr/> £175

Here we see the sum total subscribed by the Establishment to these different Societies and Institutions, amounts to £5108, whilst the Dissenters contribute only £623; in other words, the former contributes above *eight* times more than the latter.

It is not intended by these statements to produce the *absolute* amount subscribed by each body, but merely to ascertain the *proportions* of the subscriptions and donations contributed by each. Neither is it asserted that, in every point, perfect accuracy has been obtained; but as, in every case, a liberal allowance has been

made to the Dissenters, and as great care has been taken, the difference, in fact, cannot possibly affect, *to their prejudice*, the general results now submitted. We are assured that the societies selected lead to a more favourable result to the Dissenters than if all had been included. No society in which Dissenters take a conspicuous part is omitted, while the Infirmary, the Seamen's Friend, and many other societies, to which they scarcely contribute any thing, are omitted on the other side. In the British and Foreign Auxiliary Society, of the thirty-four Managers twenty-eight are Dissenters, and while for seventy-nine subscribers, the Church has only six managers, the Dissenters have for fifty-five subscribers, twenty-eight managers ! In the Destitute Sick Society, where the Church subscribers are *five to one* Dissenter, and their subscriptions eight to one, the churchmen are a minority in the management ! The Dissenters are strongest in the Society for the City Mission ; there they have the chief management, and five out of the eight Missionaries are Dissenters, while they subscribe only £114 out of £740 !

Surely no unprejudiced man can, in the face of such evidence, resist the conviction, that the Church will "furnish an equal sum with the Dissenters for any pious purpose." Let us hope that the effect of these statements on our opponents will be to induce them to reconsider the soundness of the principles, the workings of which they have been contemplating in so exaggerated a light ; at all events, to be more careful than ever not to think of themselves or their opinions more highly than they ought to think. In the facts we have produced, we have evidence that the Established Church is entitled to the gratitude of the community ; and we hope the day is not far distant when the poor and the working classes will discover her to be their truest friend.

#### NOTE G, p. 28.

One would think, from the unmeasured laudations of the Voluntary principle by our opponents, that the secular condition of the Dissenting Churches must be most prosperous ; but the reverse is the fact. Of the twelve Dissenting Churches which have been compared with the City Churches, and not selected by us as we have shewn, one only is unencumbered with debt. This exception arises not from the Voluntary liberality of the congregation, but solely from the circumstance that it was built by Mr Aikman, its minister, out of his own private means, and by him conveyed to trustees for the congregation. Albany Street Chapel and the Methodist Chapel, owe it entirely to the high rents they have got from the Town for two of the congregations of the City Churches, that they were enabled to reduce their debt, and that they are now in existence. Of the nine Secession Churches, two are at the mercy of their creditors ; a third is struggling with almost overpowering difficulties, while a fourth has no permanent accommodation, and no means of providing it. Of the other five, three are labouring under a weight of debt, exceeding, *at least*, half the value of the churches ; and there is hardly more than one of the nine that does not feel, though none of them dare avow, that the yoke of Voluntaryism is practically oppressive. If any of the

other Dissenting Churches, in connection with the Relief, Independent, Baptists, or Unitarians, are more favourably situated, the explanation of the difference will be found, not in the superior liberality of the congregations, but in the *accidental and temporary* liberality of the ministers, in consequence of the independence of their circumstances. We do not know a more distressing exemplification of the "working of the Voluntary principle," than is furnished by the history of Brighton Street Relief Chapel. Whether its origin proceeded from regard to Christian principle and character, we do not inquire. The chapel, with the adjoining buildings, was erected about eight years ago, and cost about £5500. The church and houses were well let until lately, when the insurmountable pecuniary difficulties of the congregation drove many away, and now the church is shut up, and the congregation have fled from a debt of £8000! Many, many families, chiefly connected with the congregation, who had embarked their little all in this adventure have been ruined; and yet a large portion of the congregation, which is morally and legally bound for the whole debt, assembled in Freemason's Hall, where they made frequent collections for building a new church! With such cases before us, it may appear to be easy enough to build churches; but we cannot see that churches built and abandoned, as was Brighton Street Chapel, can either reflect honour on the founders, or make men, humanly speaking, more honest or consistent Christians than a church endowed by the State.

If such is the present condition of the Dissenting Churches, whose members are now opposed to Church Establishments, notwithstanding a long tract of favourable circumstances arising from the supineness of the Church, her want of accommodation, her unmanageable parishes, and her seat rents, and their mode of management, what will be their condition now that the Church is bestirring herself, and these evils shall be in a few years redressed? Would it not be better if their ministers, before they become irrevocably pledged to their present course, were to consider, not merely the arguments in favour of their own views, but calmly and dispassionately, in order to the discovery of the Truth, whether endowments are, in their own nature, so pernicious as they are described, and whether they are not worse, but rather better, when provided by the State, than by a private individual, seeing that public opinion can enforce much more powerfully their right administration in the former case than in the latter? At any rate, when the community discovers that there is provided in every parish church easy access to every parishioner, even to the poorest, and that within the Church all may enjoy the benefit of, at least, as zealous a ministry as they who worship without, they will soon awake to a sense of the burden of Dissenterism, and rejoice that in the Providence of God the Endowments have been preserved, through which are secured to the most destitute in the land the ministrations of an Evangelical Church.

#### NOTE H, p. 31.

It would be easy to give many more historical and undoubted testimonies to the evils inflicted upon the Establishment, by the want of a sufficient number of ministers, and by the inadequate church accommodation. We shall, however,



only add one which is more valuable, because it is given by one of the most decided and zealous of our opponents. In 1809, the Rev. Dr Brown of Biggar, now of Broughton Place, preached a sermon before the Burgher Synod, upon the text, "There remaineth much of the land to be possessed;" and he there corroborates so strongly the views maintained by the friends of the Established Church, in regard to her extension; and so fully admits, and so earnestly deplores the evils which are rousing us to activity, that we give the following extracts from it. The italics are our own. "In our large cities, with scarcely an exception, there is to be found, to a considerable extent, both within and without the pale of the establishment, a zealous and every way efficient Christian ministry. No where, perhaps, in the Christian world, are abler and more active ministers to be met with than in many of our cities. But, alas! *'What are they among so many?'* *Their number bears no adequate proportion to the population of the cities in which they reside.* In few or none of our large cities is there any thing like accommodation, either in the Establishment or out of it, for all the inhabitants, supposing them to attend public instruction. In almost every instance where the gospel is preached, the places of worship are well filled, in most cases they are overflowing. It is true that there are churches which are very thinly attended; but in the most of such cases, the true cause of regret is not that the church, but that the pulpit is so ill filled. Till an amelioration take place there, the emptier the church, so far as men's spiritual interests are concerned, so much the better. There is thus a large portion of the inhabitants of large cities necessarily excluded from the benefits of *right* religious instruction. The seats in the places of worship, where an uncorrupted dispensation of divine truth is to be met with, are occupied by persons able and willing to pay for them; and *the poor to whom the gospel certainly should be preached are nearly excluded from the benefit.* Many who are both able and willing to contribute to the support of the gospel, find it difficult to be accommodated; and *many more, who are neither very willing nor able, are furnished with a somewhat plausible excuse, both to themselves and others, for habitually neglecting the means of religious instruction.* The ministers of the gospel, of whatever denomination, find that it requires all their time and attention to perform the pastoral duties to those who have placed themselves under their care; and *of course there is a great body of persons in a most destitute situation as to their spiritual interests, who have no man to care for their souls.* In all our large towns, there are thousands who have scarcely ever entered a place of worship in their life, and tens of thousands whose attendance is exceedingly unfrequent and irregular."\*—"But suppose as many places of worship built as can be filled by persons able and willing to contribute to the support of the gospel, still there will remain a mighty mass of population, who, from their ignorance and immorality, most of all need religious instruction, but who, for the very same reason, are not likely to make any exertions to obtain it. Is this large portion of immortal beings to be consigned without an effort to hopeless depravity and eternal destruction? Is nothing to be done for these waifs of the human flock, these outcasts of the family of man? Surely such were in the contemplation of our benevolent Master, when in the parable he represents the householder as commanding his servants to 'go into the streets and

\* Sermon, p. 11.

lanes of the city, and to bring in the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind;’ yea, to ‘go to the highways and the hedges, and to compel them to come in. Most certainly we are not guiltless of the blood of these our brethren, till we have used every practical method to reclaim them.’”

These are the sentiments of a Seceding minister, written sixteen years ago, in a calmer season of observation and reflection, and before the heat of controversy could have affected his views. No doubt he proposes a different *remedy* for the evil, but the evil itself is explicitly confessed and fully described, and it has not been abated since the sermon was written. He complains that there are not enough of ministers,—and there are not more in proportion to the population than there were then. He acknowledges that there is to be found, “to a considerable extent, both within and without the pale of the Establishment, a zealous and every way efficient Christian ministry;” and there is fully more zeal and efficiency within the Establishment, than there was then. He laments the inadequate church accommodation, and scouts the idea of not providing more, because the present churches may some of them be ill filled from accidental causes; and the churches are not worse filled than they were then, nor have they been increased in a more rapid proportion than the population. He grieves over the multitudes who have no man to care for their souls,—he states that the ministers of the gospel find that their congregations require all their time and attention,—and he asks, “*are they who, from their ignorance and immorality, most of all need religious instruction,*” but “*who are not likely to make any exertions in order to obtain it,*” “*to be consigned without an effort, to hopeless depravity and eternal destruction?*” The question was asked, and a remedy proposed in 1819; but during these sixteen years, the Dissenters have made no calculable exertion for the instruction of that ignorant and guilty multitude. All that time the hands of the church have been tied up by the high seat rents, and the fewness of her ministers, which are evils admitted in these extracts; and now that she is struggling for freedom, and crying for help, Will she abandon the field at the call of the Voluntary?

Since we prepared the preceding portion of this note, our attention has been directed to a reply by Dr Brown, to the *Scottish Guardian* newspaper, which had published some extracts from the same sermon, with some remarks on the consistency of the author. In the reply, Dr Brown says, “The whole of my argument, however, in that sermon, rests on the fact, which I apprehend is very fully established, that there is in Scotland a great want, not of Church accommodation, but of *wholesome* Christian instruction.”† Well then, we have Dr Brown’s authority, that Church accommodation does not infer a corresponding provision of wholesome Christian instruction, though the friends of the Church have had some difficulty, of late, in maintaining the position, that the Church ought to have the means of providing additional wholesome Christian instruction, consistently with her standards, even though there may be, in a sense,—which confounds the distinctions between true and false religions,—almost enough of mere church-room. And surely the author of the reply, looking to the extent and immediate object of the endowments, for which the Church is now applying, being to be obtained

\* Sermon, p. 29.

† Reply, p 7.

without any surrender by the latter of the right of patronage, will not allege that the Voluntary Churches, at this moment, hold out any greater prospect of ministerial faithfulness, than the Chapels of Ease so endowed. But though Dr Brown here distinguishes betwixt Church accommodation, and sufficient means of wholesome Christian instruction, he has not done so throughout his reply. In another part of it he speaks of the statement of the Scottish Central Board, as "a clear, candid, and *unanswerable* document." Now, our readers will be aware, that the great object of that statement is to shew that there is no need of additional church accommodation, contrary to the circular of the General Assembly's Committee. And how is this shewn? 1. By "making a proper allowance for a very large population, composed of the avowedly irreligious, and of all these classes for whom, to provide Church accommodation as the means of reclaiming them from their evil courses, would betray a lamentable ignorance of human nature."\* Instead of exposing the ignorance and folly of this sentence, in our own language, let us answer it from Dr Brown's own sermon. He first speaks of the necessity of building "as many places of worship as can be filled by persons able and willing to contribute to the support of the gospel." But he goes on, "still there will remain a mighty mass of population, who, from their ignorance and immorality, most of all need religious instruction, but who, for the very same reason, are not likely to make any exertions in order to obtain it." Among other means of reclaiming that class, he says, "*Let large, but plain places of worship be erected for their accommodation. Let the whole influence of the better classes of society be employed to induce them to attend at these places, and there let the gospel be preached to them, without money and without price. On the man who shall successfully interpose in behalf of this most degraded and profligate class of society, the blessings of many ready to perish will come; multitudes of souls, apparently hopelessly lost, will be saved from death, and a multitude of sins covered for ever!*"† These remedial measures infer—the necessity of additional Church accommodation, as one mean of reclaiming them from evil courses, the adoption of which, it is said in the statement, would "betray a lamentable ignorance of human nature,"—the necessity of the influence of the better classes of society to get that class to attend, to which we would only propose to *add* the agency of the parochial system, with its minister, its elders, its deacons, and its teachers,—and the necessity, as the friends of the Establishment have long urged, of removing from that class the obstacle of the seat rents, for, he says, "let the gospel be preached to them without money and without price." These are most important admissions, and whether they are Dr Brown's sentiments now or not, they afford a good answer to one statement of the "unanswerable document." But, 2d, The statement insists that there is no need of more Church accommodation,—not by shewing that there is at present sufficient Church accommodation, where "*wholesome Christian instruction*" is provided, but that taking all the existing Church accommodation together, belonging to whatever sect, and employed as a means of preaching whatever doctrines, there is already sufficient Church accommodation. Now, though Dr Brown has, in his Reply, styled the Statement an "unanswer-

\* Statement, pp. 7, 8.

† Sermon, p. 30.

able document," he cannot consistently approve of this argument, because, in other parts of the Reply, and through the whole of his sermon, he assumes, or argues for the necessity of additional means of religious instruction, on the ground that there do not exist sufficient means of *right* religious instruction. But the plain meaning of the statements in the "unanswerable document" is, that the mere circumstance of there being enough of room in every place of worship in Edinburgh, is a sufficient answer to the demand for additional Churches, and more adequate means of pastoral superintendence, in connection with the Establishment, and it follows from it, not only that no means are to be used for re-uniting Dissenting congregations to the Church,—not only that all who have Dissented and joined other religious bodies, shall be allowed, without molestation, or encouragement to return, to continue as they are, but also, that the *unlet* sittings, even in *heterodox* churches, is an argument against additional accommodation within the Establishment, apparently because the number of these sittings infers a proportional share of the unreclaimed population! What else can be the meaning of the argument?—and is it not very painful to think how great a number of persons, under the intoxicating influence, we fear, of party spirit, are deluded by statements which rest on such miserable grounds?

#### NOTE I, p. 32.

While our main object is to render the Church within the Royalty more efficient, we are sensible that even for the accomplishment of that result, it is necessary that the provision for the Established Church in St Cuthbert's shall be encreased. At present there is a far less proportionate amount of accommodation in connection with the Established Church in St Cuthbert's than in the Royalty; and unless some additional endowments are obtained, there is no prospect of an adequate provision for its wants. In consequence of its present scanty accommodations its population form a large proportion of the sitters in the city Churches, it appears 3400 out of 9200, or more than one-third, while there is no corresponding number who live in the Royalty and sit in the St Cuthbert's Churches. Now, it is a very great and obvious inconvenience that so large a parish should be so ill provided, and that its inhabitants should fill, to such an extent, the City Churches thus encreasing the cares of the city ministers and withdrawing their attention from their own parishioners. If the Town Council had done their duty, they would always have given a preference to the parishioners and not to the inhabitants of St Cuthbert's, as they did, in order to encrease their revenues. Had the Council acted thus there would have been, long before now, more churches and better means of paying the stipends provided for St Cuthbert's than at present. It must be obvious, also, that if under a better administration the parishioners shall be induced to attend ordinances more generally, and in their own parish Church, the inhabitants of St Cuthbert's will be driven from the Royalty while no accommodation exists for them in their own parish. The evil of this condition of things has been felt, and various remedies have been proposed. The remedy, however, which has received most attention, consists in an extension of the Annuity over the whole Parliamentary boundary, an arrangement of this kind being, it

is believed, under the consideration of the Burgh Commissioners; but it has been objected to, we believe, by many, chiefly on account of the difficulty of effecting an equitable adjustment of the respective interests of the Royalty and the other parishes.

The following sketch is submitted, not from a conviction of its obviating even that difficulty,—and no plan can be hoped for which shall remove every difficulty, but because it appears to remove more of the objections *on that ground* than any that we have yet seen :—

There are at present eighteen ministers in the Royalty—two in the Canongate, and two in St Cuthbert's, whose churches are endowed. It has been always, and we think rightly objected to by the friends of the Church, to any proposal for the reduction of the ministers in the Royalty, that eighteen ministers are not too many for the Royalty,—but there is nothing in the *principle* of the objection which would prevent some of the eighteen ministers having a smaller endowment than the others, while all the arguments for the higher endowments, which we think cannot be invalidated, would be allowed, if their numbers throughout Edinburgh were not reduced. Our first proposal, then, would be, that the Royalty should not suffer her own provision of ministers to be diminished by any claims of St Cuthbert's, but that she should allow a certain number of her own ministers, say the five who by the abolition of the collegiate charges would require new churches, to receive a lower endowment, while an equal number in St Cuthbert's should receive the higher, so that the entire number and amount of the higher endowments might be the same as at present over the town. If there should be found no objection to these arrangements upon principle, the details would not involve much difficulty. In order to judge of the advantage to be obtained by the extension of the Annuity, we shall first notice the probable amount of the endowments. The extension of the Annuity, at its present rate, is not contemplated. We shall suppose that the rate is reduced to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and consider what provision might probably be secured by it. The rental of the Royalty for 1833-4, including the College of Justice, was £206,000, and the Police rental, including almost all St Cuthbert's, with the Canongate and part of Leith, which ought also to be included in the arrangements for the same years was £406,000—but say £400,000, which will produce, at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., £14,000, and deducting 12 per cent. for expenses and arrears, which considering the *reduced* rate, and that the Police assessment loses less than 10 per cent., we do not think too low, there remains a net proceed of £12,350. To this, however, there is to be added the unexhausted teind in St Cuthbert's, amounting to, say £1400, the merk per ton being about £2000, and about £150 more claimed upon the Ale Duty and Lady Yester's Mortification, with about £200 belonging to Lady Glenorchy's Chapel and Buccleuch Church, making in all £16,000, besides the complete endowment of the two St Cuthbert's ministers. From this sum of £16,100, the first deduction must be for the endowment at the present rate of the eighteen ministers, which at £600 will amount to £10,800, leaving £5300. This sum of £5300 would afford an endowment of £350 to each of *fifteen* ministers, two of whom would be the Canongate ministers; and there would be thirteen additional ministers, and *fourteen* more churches, as the Canongate collegiate charge would be abolished, endowed than at present, and *five* more ministers, and *six* more churches provided for than at present exist.



The whole number of ministers endowed would be *thirty-five*, instead of *twenty-two* as now. The rate would at the same time, with this encreased benefit to the Established Church, be reduced almost one-half to the Royalty. The real burden of the Annuity would not even be so much as  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; for as the City Churches, by their collections, reduce the assessment for the poor  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and so make the present rate of the Annuity virtually only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., so we think that by the encrease of the Churches, and by the reduction of the seat rents as a consequence of the endowment, it is not expecting too much to reckon that the relief will not be less *over the whole town* than it is at present in the Royalty, so that the Annuity would be virtually only 2 per cent. ! It would, however, be an immense additional advantage if the Annuity had less the *appearance* of being a personal tax, and were made a *direct* charge upon the proprietor, so that besides the fact that even now it is in effect just such a charge, it would also *appear* to be what it really is, instead of having the appearance of being what it is not, and suffering from the perversions of the factious and designing on that account. The effect of that change in the mode of laying on the Annuity would be to enable the collectors to obtain payment far more easily, and to reduce the arrears below even what we have stated. But whether this alteration shall take place or no, yet if the Church shall be extended by the means we have pointed out, we firmly believe that the Church would be able to make such a demonstration of her advantages as will induce many who are at present either prejudiced or neutral, to regard her pretensions more favourably.

#### NOTE K, p. 35.

For some time back a struggle has been going on in Edinburgh, in order to get the number of ministers reduced to thirteen, by abolishing the Collegiate Charges; and the chief argument for the reduction has been the allegation that these collegiate, are not so effective as the single charges. Among the persons who sought their reduction were many professed friends of the Church, though if they had been enlightened friends they would easily have seen through the fallacy of the argument. Where abuses exist in the State, we seek to remove them, in order to give strength and stability to our civil institutions. Why, in regard to the Church, should its friends act upon a different principle? If one minister is better than two in each parish, then, and if as these friends will admit, *there is work enough for both*, why not make two parishes and two parish churches? These friends argue as if where the work is either imperfectly done, or not done at all, the means of providing that the work shall be well done should be withdrawn. Upon this principle, wherever there is a useless minister, at the close of his incumbency, though that is just the time for getting a better, the parish ought to be abandoned to the Voluntary or to worse neglect! The fact is, these friends have been misled either by their appetite for a wretched popularity or by a short sighted economy. If they had been seeking the prosperity of the Establishment, they must have seen that the abolition of the Collegiate Charges afforded the best possible opportunity for strengthening the Church, by encreasing her parishes and her churches, as it could be done without any additional charge to the public.

That their hatred of the abuse should have rendered them blind to this advantage, does not evince a very strong attachment to the Church. It is to be remembered that the additional places of worship would have been built by the Church, and not by the public.

NOTE L, p. 38.

The contrast of the attendance in Church of the poor inhabitants of Edinburgh, with the attendance of the same class in the country, when the cause of it is explained, affords strong evidence of the mismanagement of the Church by the Town Council. In the country, the class which is seen most regularly in the house of God is the poor, and this is nothing more than might be expected. They enjoy an easy access to that privilege, and they are taught in the use of it, what sweetens the bitter cup of poverty to their taste. No selfish corporation bids them give place to their betters, that the city coffers may be enriched, and, at this moment, when the Establishment is put upon its trial, these persons can, and they do laugh to scorn, the paltry quibbles and sophistries of the Voluntary, because they feel that the National Church is a blessing to themselves. But in Edinburgh, as well as in all other places where, through a lack of accommodation in that Church, the Dissenters have increased, the case is quite the reverse. The poor there are the *most* neglectful of the great public duty of "assembling themselves together." They have—we mean the properly poor, and not the prosperous mechanic, or the well paid servant,—for the most part abandoned the Established Church, but they do not, except in a few instances, frequent the churches of the Dissenters. They have, indeed, too generally abandoned the duty of church-going altogether. We believe that this difference in their habits, and the habits of their equals in the country, this difference, even betwixt their present and their former habits, is attributable, not to the constitution of the Established Church, nor only to the unpopularity or carelessness of any of her ministers, but mainly to the conduct of the Town Council. They have made a job of the Church. They have driven the poor away,—and though the Church has solemnly and frequently protested against their bad principles, and most intolerable practice,—now when the poor are driven away by their high seat rents, and their unkindnesses besides, they say to the Church, You need not speak of your regard to the poor, they wont go to your churches—they prefer the Dissenters. In this spirit they published several weeks ago, a Return of the State of the City Churches, so framed as to present, in the strongest light, the idea that they are of very little benefit to the community, and to prejudice the minds of the public against the utility of the Establishment altogether. They send forth this Return, as they have published other Returns, to prove the assertion, that the Church is only attended by the higher classes, as an abuse, as if the very system which the same men are abetting, was not the cause of that abuse. If the Dissenters had, however, taken up these poor and destitute people, we should have felt more sympathy with them in their present condition. But the Dissenters have done very little to remedy this evil. We are told, as an argument against the Establishment, by the Returns to which we have alluded, that there are only 727 persons who live in the ancient royalty of Edinburgh, that have

seats in any of the city Churches. That out of 27,000 of a population, only 727 should have seats in the city Churches, is a statement requiring immediate attention. But its truth ought not to be hastily admitted. Indeed, the statement does not shew, though it is so intended by the Voluntaries, who have proclaimed the fact over the length and breadth of the land, what is the actual number of persons living in the ancient royalty, who are in connection with the Establishment. In ascertaining the parishes in which the sitters of the city Churches reside, the names of 785 persons were struck off as "doubtful," and in the end they were distributed over the parishes, according to the proportions of the number of the sitters whose residences were known, in each, and upon this principle only sixty of the doubtful column are given to the ancient royalty. But in looking over the list of one of the Churches, and we have no doubt that it is a fair specimen of the others, the class which seldomest give their addresses, is the poorer sort; and, therefore, *the larger proportion* of these doubtful names ought to have been reckoned *to the poorer districts* of the Town. And if this rule had been followed, the number of the residents in the royalty who have seats in the city Churches, would have appeared considerably greater. Then, in the next place, although these residents may sit in Lady Glenorchy's or the Gaelic Chapel, (both in the royalty,) which several hundreds do, or, indeed, in any of the neighbouring parish Churches or Chapels of Ease, are they not to be reckoned in connection with the Establishment? If these circumstances had been duly estimated, we have no doubt that at least 1200 of the inhabitants of the royalty, would have been described as having seats within the Establishment, and who, therefore, may be expected to be interested in its support. Besides, either the original or the amended number is in entire harmony with the statements which have, in various forms, been put forth by the friends of the Church, viz. that the poor of Edinburgh are not Church-goers, and that it is absolutely necessary, in order to reclaim them, that existing abuses should be put an end to, and something more done than the Dissenters are now doing, or than the Church is permitted to do. The fact is, that while there is a very small proportion of the inhabitants of the royalty who have seats in connection with the Establishment, there is not a much larger proportion in connection with the Dissenters, and we shall state our reasons for this assertion.—In Dr Chalmers' pamphlet, on the Evils in the Management of the Edinburgh Church by the Town Council, there is a detailed statement of the number of persons having seats in any place of worship, and who reside in various districts in the ancient royalty.\* The whole population of these districts extends to 11,609, and of that number only 1291 have seats in any place of worship. Now, when it is considered that these districts do not extend over more than 1000 of the parishioners of the Old, High, Tron, or Lady Yester's parishes, we do not think it can be doubted that the proportion who have no seats in these parishes, with an equal population, will be as great; and making allowance for the better attendance in the New Town, and for seats in the churches occupied, but not let, we derive, from altogether independent data, a confirmation of our former calculations, shewing that 21,000 in the royalty go to no church; and there is sufficient evidence before us, that that class is in a very great proportion of the poorest sort.

\* p. 30.

The unfairness of the Return upon which these remarks have been chiefly founded, has been so frequently and thoroughly exposed, that we do not think it necessary to invalidate its authority in other particulars. We shall only mention farther, that according to its statements, there appears to be among the 9400 sitters in the city churches, 5800 who live beyond the royalty; but this has arisen not from the inhabitants of the royalty deserting the city churches, but rather from the exclusion of the great body of them, in consequence of the high seat rents, and the whole mode of management of the churches by the Town Council. Now, when by such rents, the poorer sort within the royalty have been either excluded, or pinched to pay them, they have good reason to be indignant at the men who began so bad a practice; but most of all at those men who, with far fairer *professions* of regard for the poor man, and in more enlightened times, not only have scarcely done any thing to remedy the evil, but would fain attribute to the church the blame of all its consequences. The Town Council should at least have explained the fact, that the New North Church, which has 629 of its sitters from St Cuthbert's parish, and only 415 from the royalty, has been removed from the royalty to the distance of nearly a mile from its parish, and in the heart of St Cuthbert's. One would think from the course pursued by many of our opponents, and some of them in the Council, and the obstacles they interpose, they were determined, so long at least as the church is Established, it should not prosper, even as a church of Christ. If this be the tendency of their principles, can they be sound?

#### NOTE M, p. 39.

Mr Grainger's Report was ordered at one of the first meetings of the reformed Town Council, and it was soon after prepared, approved of, and published. The committee were instructed to report upon the present state of the Established Churches and Parishes of the city of Edinburgh, and instead of inquiring how far it is capable of doing the work which has been committed to it, and whether it is not necessary to encrease her provision and accommodations, in order to render it efficient, the committee, though several of them were churchmen, seemed to consider it to be their duty, only to find out what was wrong; and by reporting the faults and defects in the condition of the Establishment, they have strengthened the impression, that the Church is wholly responsible for their existence, though we have shewn in our remarks, that they or their predecessors were chiefly to blame. The Report shews a great number of unlet seats, without offering one of the explanations which might have shewn, that at least, to a great extent, they are owing, either to merely accidental and temporary causes, or to the management of the Council, and the result of the whole report is, a "total annual deficiency, on account of the City Church Establishment, of £12,391: 13: 11d." This is indeed a large deficit, and it is of importance to ascertain how far there is any truth in it. Now, 1st, The Report is framed as if there were no endowments of the clergy, except what is provided by the Town Council, though the whole stipends, amounting, as stated in this report, to £10,600, are provided for by an independent endowment, with which the Council have nothing to do, except as.

factors for the clergy. The annuity "belongs to the clergy" by Act of Parliament, and the Council have no right to speak of a *deficiency*, on account of the City Church Establishment, of £12,300, when it is partly composed of that item of £10,600, as if it was a *deficiency* which some party must make up. If the stipends were to be mentioned at all, the monies collected by the Council to pay them, ought also to have been stated. 2d, The other expenses of the Church Establishment, are stated at £2,376, and the rent of the Methodist Chapel, and feu of Lady Yester's Church, are separately stated at £564 : 8 : 11d., which, together, are £2940. Now, the *whole* expenses of the churches, including these separate items, for the year 1832-3, being the year previous to the report, did not exceed £2159 — (Abstract Statements of the Affairs of the City of Edinburgh, for 1832-3, p. 3.) — and if the expenses of collecting the seat-rents, which ought to have been made a charge upon them, and the net proceeds only, entered, be added, they did not exceed £2420, so that the difference betwixt that sum and the £2940, or £520, is improperly charged. It may be that some of the expenses of precentors and beadles which is paid out of ecclesiastical funds, the Greyfriars' church-yard dues, and the session-clerk's fees, may have been included, but, besides that these do not exceed £240, if they had been stated, the receipts from these sources, deducting the proper expenditure, should also have been mentioned. Then, as to the feu of Lady Yester's Church, put down at £64, and in other statements at the full sum of £80, credit should have been given for £25 of feu, got from Professor Paxton's Chapel for the ground upon which the old church of Lady Yester's stood, which was Church property, for £15 of a sub-feu of part of the ground upon which Lady Yester's is built, and for £48 of rent of cellars under the church, making altogether £88; so that, instead of charging the church with £64 or £80, it should have been credited with £8. The next annual charge against the Church is for £5,609, for interest on £140,000, being the cost, or estimated value of the churches. There is not the least ground for a farthing of this claim. In the *first* place, as to the cost of, or value of the churches, there is £27,000 stated as the value of the High Church and West St Giles', though the improvements of St Giles', including the rebuilding of West St Giles', with the chancel, assembly aisle, and the exterior of the High Church, did not cost £20,000, that is as much as would have built the *three* churches, while £7000 more is charged for *two*, and no mention is made of £12,000 received from Government to meet the expense of these improvements. The value of the Tron Church is said to be £7,500, although its original cost was not more than £6000; and only so much from the great extravagance of the Council; and there has only been twice expended on the structure about £400 more, in addition to the insurance for the new spire. The College Church is said to be worth £5000, though if were in the market it would not bring £2000. Lady Yester's is said to be worth £6000, though it did not cost £5000. The Old Greyfriars', which cost £3000,\* and is not worth so much, is valued at £6000. The New Greyfriars' is valued also at £6000, though it is not worth more than the Old Greyfriars'. St Andrew's is put down at £8000, though it cost only £7268. St George's is said to have cost £38,626, though if the committee had

\* Statement as to Seat Rents, Edinburgh, 1824, p. 25.



paid the least attention to the books from which they have drawn that statement they would have seen that it did not cost more than £32,973,—the difference being made up of *interest*. And in stating the cost of St Mary's and St Stephen's, no allowance is made for about £1800 received of drawbacks from Government.\* And, in the second place, the Report ought to have stated, that the Town did not build St Giles, that it was acquired from the Crown at the Reformation, and that less than £8000 of the improvements upon that edifice was paid by the Town, the rest, or £12,000, having been paid by the Government; that the College was not built by the Town either; that the Tron was built mostly by general subscription, and that, so far as it was not, the expense was provided for with the cost of the Old Greyfriars, by a Parliamentary grant of a wine duty, in 1661; that Lady Yester's was built, and partly endowed, independently of the Town; that New Greyfriars, together with the stipend of its ministers, was paid out of the ale-duty; and that the four New Town Churches, though appearing to have been built by the Town, have been more than paid by the seat-rents, which the Town had only a right to draw for these and similar purposes. Thus, the £140,000 is first shewn to be a gross exaggeration, and then it is established that it ought not to have been noticed in this Report at all, as the Council had not lost a penny of its expenditure.

There is also added a charge against the New Town Churches of £591 for feu-duty, though the ground upon which they are built, except St Stephen's, which was excambed, and for which some allowance might be made—belonged to the Town. The feu-duty is a creation of the committee, and has no foundation in fact, though a superficial reader will take it for granted that it is actually paid by the Town. It ill becomes the Council, which had wasted so much of the Ecclesiastical Funds on extravagant churches, to add this imaginary charge, as if in truth it had any foundation—while no abatement is made of a shilling of the cost of these churches, on the ground that they were bound by Act of Parliament *to the feuars* to build several of them, and though they did in fact derive an encreased revenue of feu-duties from their erection.

With these abatements, amounting together to about £17,000, so far from there being an actual deficiency of £12,391, *there is an actual surplus of £5000 per annum*, “on account of the Edinburgh Church Establishment.”

We might point out various other blunders, and many even more striking examples of the unsound views upon which this Report has been made up; but we think that these statements will prove that it has no claim whatever to any authority. Its radical absurdity consists in its plan of trying the value of the Establishment, by the same principle that governs Voluntary Churches. In the eyes of

\* It is a curious fact, that, allowing the average of the ordinary expenditure of each church to be, as stated by the Town-Council, £182, and supposing, 1st, St Andrew's, at Martinmas 1813, to have only *previously* paid these expenses, and the interest of the cost of its erection, though, in fact, it had, before that time, paid also the principal; yet, even since that period, *the seat rents of that church have paid, besides the interest and expenses, £6300 of its cost, leaving only £900 unpaid*. 2d, In the same way, St Mary's, which cost, in 1824, £11,746, *has, by its seat rents, reduced its cost in eleven years to about £5500*. And, 3d, In like manner, St Stephen's, which cost £23,248, and was opened in 1828, *has, in these six years, reduced its cost, by its own seat rent to about £18,200*.

the Reporters it is an evil if the Church does not pay itself ; but the friends of a National Church Establishment esteem the aiming at that object one of the main causes of the evil in its present condition. The true design of a National Establishment is to communicate to every inhabitant of the country the privilege of Christian instruction ; and it is wisely considered that this National object will be best promoted when the expense is provided by the nation, and the burden is not, as with us, imposed upon the church-goer.

## APPENDIX.

### No. I.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE ACCOMMODATION BELONGING TO EACH  
BODY IN THE ROYALTY, ST CUTHBERT'S, AND CANONGATE, WITH  
THE LET AND UNLET SEATS.

	Accom- modation.	Let.	Unlet.	Propor- tion Unlet.
Established Churches, and Chapels,	29,425	21,223	8,202	1 in $3\frac{1}{2}$
United Secession, . . . .	11,679	8,819	2,860	1 in 4
Relief, . . . . .	6,300	4,645	1,655	1 in $3\frac{3}{4}$
Episcopalians, . . . . .	4,076	2,864	1,212	1 in $3\frac{1}{2}$
Baptists, . . . . .	3,005	1,580	1,425	1 in 2
Old Light Burghers and Anti-Burghers,	2,750	1,800	950	1 in 3
Methodists, . . . . .	2,146	1,016	1,130	1 in 2
Independents, . . . . .	1,886	718	1,168	1 in $1\frac{1}{2}$
Roman Catholics, . . . . .	1,700	1,700	—	—
Cameronians, . . . . .	1,200	800	400	1 in 3
Minor Sects, . . . . .	2,570	1,330	1,240	1 in 2
Total,	66,737	46,595	20,242	1 in $3\frac{1}{3}$

It may be observed, from this view, that the Established Churches and Chapels appear to be better let than the Dissenting Churches. The whole unlet seats in *all* the Churches are 1 out of  $3\frac{1}{3}$ ; but, contrasting the Church with the Dissenters, the former has 1 out of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  only unlet, while the latter have 1 out of 3. It will be remarked, however, that this Table shews a greater proportion of unlet seats in the Church than in the Secession or Relief Churches. But it is necessary to be noticed, that in the Established Church no deduction has been made on account of the quality of the ac-

commodation, except for the seats behind the pillars in the City Churches; though the inferior accommodation must be admitted to be a real obstacle to their letting. If a *moderate* allowance were made for such seats, including those affected by the pillars in the Canongate, the total number of unlet seats would be greatly reduced. The seats, also, which in the City Churches are *occupied* though unlet, appear among the unlet in the foregoing Table; and we have shewn that there are at least 1200 so occupied. If these, with the allowance for the bad seats, are deducted, there will remain 6200 out of 28,625 seats, or 1 in  $4\frac{3}{4}$ ; and though, on the other hand, several hundreds were deducted from the unlet seats in the Secession as occupied, the result will be, that the Church is as well let as the Secession, or any other sect except the Catholics.

The City Churches alone, deducting 500, besides those wholly obstructed by the pillars, as bad, and 1200 as occupied though unlet, will leave 13,705 sittings, of which 11,663 are let and 1942 unlet, or *one in seven unlet*, while the Secession Church, even though 500 be deducted from the unlet seats as being occupied, there will be 2360 unlet seats out of 11,679, or *one in five unlet*; and none of the other bodies are even as well let except the churches of the Roman Catholics.

Of the 46,595 let seats, above 38,000 are in Presbyterian Churches.

## No. II.

PARTICULARS OF THE ORDINARY ANNUAL ECCLESIASTICAL EXPENDITURE OF THE TOWN COUNCIL, FROM MARTINMAS 1788 TO SEPTEMBER 1834, REFERRED TO IN THE TABLE PAGE.

	Calling and Admitting Ministers.	Music-Bells, and Beadles, &c.	Sacramental Expenses.	Repairs, &c. and Insurance.	Total.
1789	7	101	96	854	1058
1790	97	103	77	357	634
1791	59	102	138	1429	1728
1792	98	105	130	813	1146
1793	63	102	112	415	692
1794	67	119	130	325	641
1795	17	130	145	248	540
1796	71	123	160	757	1111
1797	—	141	263	1063	1467
1798	—	110	179	317	606
1799	217	111	204	365	897
1800	111	109	182	745	1147
1801	72	90	258	651	1071
1802	101	91	207	729	1128
1803	73	100	204	2086	2463
1804	31	102	32	493	658
1805	149	106	325	992	1572
1806	93	90	238	760	1181
1807	28	105	270	662	1065
1808	164	92	418	682	1356
1809	12	40	292	969	1313
1810	221	65	284	639	1209
1811	46	112	42	625	825
1812	5	106	446	448	1005
1813	195	115	190	566	1066
1814	138	116	365	485	1104
1815	—	169	204	1793	2166
1816	45	177	474	1725	2421
1817	—	184	397	2032	2613
1818	—	184	161	2895	3240
1819	86	165	267	1169	1687
1820	1	199	359	1521	2080
1821	5	187	313	788	1293
1822	7	190	319	744	1260
1823	5	237	289	690	1221
1824	—	242	199	795	1236
1825	10	294	181	1228	1713
1826	—	328	75	2159	2562
1827	—	335	330	1087	1752
1828	15	343	277	700	1335
1829	15	351	198	1056	1620
1830	7	397	102	2647	3153
1831	9	372	267	2172	2820
1832	5	418	83	1828	2934
1833	6	564	220	1369	2159
1834	12	461	50	1001	1524
	2363	8483	10,152	47,874	68,872



## No. III.

OPINION, IN ANSWER TO THE MEMORIAL AND QUERIES FOR THE  
RIGHT HON. THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND TOWN  
COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH, IN SO FAR AS IT RELATES TO THE  
SEAT RENTS.

“ As to the *Seat Rents* there is considerable difficulty. We concur, however, generally, in the whole substance of the opinions given in 1823, by Lords Newton and Moncreiff, then at the bar. We are very clearly of opinion that seat rents *cannot be levied for the increase of the general revenues, or payment of the general debts of the City, or for any other purpose than the support, more or less directly, of the ecclesiastical establishment itself.* It is more doubtful how far, in reference to any particular debt *specifically* contracted for the erection or repair of the City Churches, and still standing, as such, *unmerged* in the general liabilities of the City, it would be lawful to levy, in the shape of seat rents, the necessary funds for paying off and discharging such debt; though even there we should be disposed to think that, at all events, in so far as the fund annually raised was required to meet the annual current expences of the Establishment, the arrears of any more ancient debt could not come into competition. There is another consideration which renders it somewhat difficult to meet this branch of the case, viz. how far it is competent to apply the seat rents of one church to the defraying the expences of another. But on both of these points we should require a good deal of more precise information as to the circumstances under which the debt was incurred—the particular situation in which the debt supposed to be connected with each of the several churches at this moment stands—the extent of connection parochially, or otherwise, which subsists between the different churches, &c., before we could give any positive or decided opinion. In general, however, we should say that, as the creditors cannot interfere with the memorialists’ administration and management in regard to the churches, or Church Establishment itself; so neither can they interfere with their administration and management of the seat rents, whether as regards the increase or diminution of the amount levied, the objects to which they are appropriated, or the details and mode of collection. But suppose we should to a certain extent be wrong in this, and it were eventually to be held that, as matters here stand, the creditors are entitled to draw the free surplus of the seat rents after discharging the current annual expences, still we should be disposed to think that, in the creditors’ hands, this surplus could be applied only to the extinction of any proper ecclesiastical debt specifically connected with the churches, and that from the moment this particular description of debt was extinguished, their right to interfere in the matter must altogether cease. We do not know that there is either authority or principle on which the seat rents

can be looked upon as a legitimate fund from which to pay the stipends of the clergy, even where there are no other funds appropriated to that end, and still less where such funds as are so appropriated at one time, may subsequently be put an end to by competent authority. But we certainly do think that, in a question with the City creditors, it is utterly impossible that the seat rents can ever be touched for general purposes, so long as, from the defect of other funds, the clergy remain unprovided for.

The opinion of

(Signed)

JAMES L'AMY.  
ANDW. SKENE.  
J. IVORY."

*April 8, 1834.*

THE END.



# REPLIES TO QUERIES

REGARDING THE

## CITY CHURCHES,

PROPOSED BY THE

COMMITTEE OF THE TOWN COUNCIL

TO THE

PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH.

---

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY A. BALFOUR AND CO.

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1834.





# QUERIES

REGARDING THE CITY CHURCHES,

PROPOSED BY THE

COMMITTEE OF THE TOWN COUNCIL

TO THE

PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH,

*And considered at a Meeting called for this purpose on  
Thursday the 23d current.*

---

1. ARE the Presbytery willing that the Clergy of the City should renounce all right to the Annuity-Tax, and merk per ton collected at the Port of Leith, and accept in lieu thereof a fixed stipend, to be paid out of the ordinary revenue of the Town, as was done prior to ?

2. Are the Presbytery willing that this sum should be restricted to L.550 per annum during the lives of the present incumbents?

3. Are the Presbytery willing to agree that the Stipends of all Ministers appointed to city churches after this period be restricted to L.500 per annum, and if not, what sum would they be willing to agree to?

4. Whether, in the case of Old Grey-Friars' Church, just vacant by the death of Dr. Inglis, the Presbytery would concur in any arrangement

which the Town Council may make with Dr. Anderson, having for its object the retirement of that gentleman from the duties of his office, and the performance of the whole duties of the Church and Parish by the person the Council may appoint as successor to Dr. Inglis ; it being understood by the person so to be appointed, that this church may cease to be a collegiate charge on the death of Dr. Anderson ?

5. Seeing that by a return of the population of the respective Parishes of the City lately laid before the Council, the existing parochial divisions of the City are such as to render the labour of the Clergy most unequal, (see Appendix) whether or not the Presbytery would concur in any new arrangement of parishes, by which the population would be more equally divided amongst the clergy, whatever that number may be ?

6. Whether or not the Presbytery would concur in uncollegiating *all* of the city churches on the death of the present incumbents ; it being understood, that when that has taken place, the number of City Clergy are to be reduced to the present number of Parishes—that is to thirteen ?

7. Whether or not the Presbytery would concur with the Town Council in uncollegiating *all* or *any* of the city churches on the death of the present incumbents, it being understood that for every church so uncollegiated, a church shall be built and a parish formed for it, or whether they would agree to an intermediate course, by which the

stipend of a certain number of the collegiate clergy might be applied in raising a fund for the erection of churches for the ministers formerly of the collegiate charges, which it may be agreed to continue?

8. Seeing that the number of inhabitants of the New Town and Old Town are nearly equal, while there are only *four* churches in the former, and nine in the latter, whether or not they would concur with the Town Council in suppressing *one* parish in the Old Town, and erecting one in lieu thereof in the eastern division of the New Town?

9. Whether, in the event of the Town Council not agreeing with the Presbytery, respecting the reduction of the number of clergy to the present number of parishes, but without having the *means* of erecting other *five* churches, besides the *two* which it is understood the Town are bound to build for those suppressed under the roof of St. Giles', the Presbytery would concur with the Council in so dividing the city, that the parishes in which they continue the collegiate churches may contain double the number of inhabitants it may be thought expedient to attach to the *single* charges?

10. In the event of no reduction of the number of clergy being agreed on, would the Presbytery sanction the Council, in making appointments in collegiate charges, to do so upon a distinct understanding that the person appointed should, at any time he may be called on, do the whole duty of that or any other parish, as a single charge?

## APPENDIX.

Population in the City Parishes, according to the Government Census of 1831.

High Church .	2614
Old Church .	1952
Tolbooth . .	3016
College .	4244

New North Church	1350	
------------------	------	--

} since diminished by the  
operations of the Improve-  
ment Commission.

Tron Church .	3009
Old Grey Friars' .	4345
Lady Yester's .	2890
New Grey Friars'	4536
St. Andrew's .	7339
St. George's .	7338
St. Mary's .	6587
St. Stephen's .	5772

REPLIES TO QUERIES  
REGARDING THE CITY CHURCHES,  
PROPOSED BY THE  
COMMITTEE OF THE TOWN COUNCIL  
TO THE  
PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH.

---

QUERY 1.

1. Are the Presbytery willing that the clergy of the city should renounce all right to the annuity-tax, and merk per ton collected at the port of Leith, and accept in lieu thereof a fixed stipend, to be paid out of the ordinary revenue of the Town, as was done prior to                   ?

The Presbytery are of opinion, that the whole sum at present exigible for the support of the ministers in Edinburgh, is not more than a requisite provision for the supply of Christian instruction to the families of the city,—the great purpose for which their order was instituted; and they are not willing to enter into any arrangement which shall have the effect of abridging that sum. They at the same time have no such preference for the special fund, out of which the ecclesiastical



revenue is at present raised, as not to consent that it shall be modified, or even abolished, provided that any other fund is substituted in its place equally productive, equally stable and secure, and having withal the property of adapting itself to the state and numbers of the population. The Presbytery beg to be understood, that in reference to any specific fund which might be proposed, the question of its fitness is left open for future consideration. It must be obvious, that without some special modification, the ordinary revenue of the town does not realize the properties which have been now enumerated; and they beg to state it as their understanding, that historically, or in point of fact, the stipend of the city ministers never was paid out of that revenue. They would farther remind the Town Council of their repeated attempts to obtain such an indefinite reduction of the seat-rents as might open the city churches to the general mass of the people in their respective parishes. And on this principle still they venture to express their hope, that the maintenance of the clergy will be provided from a wholly distinct source. For the sentiments of the Presbytery on the proposal of a fixed stipend to the clergy of Edinburgh, they beg to refer the Town Council to their reply on the next two queries.

#### ANSWER.

On the above premises, the Town Council will be pleased to understand, that the Presbytery are not willing that the Clergy of the City shall make *unconditional* renunciation of all right to the Annuity Tax and Merk per Ton collected at the port of Leith; and they are not willing that they should be paid out of the ordinary revenue of the Town.

#### QUERIES II. AND III.

2. Are the Presbytery willing that this sum

should be restricted to L.550 per annum during the lives of the present incumbents?

3. Are the Presbytery willing to agree that the Stipends of all Ministers appointed to city churches after this period be restricted to L.500 per annum, and if not, what sum would they be willing to agree to?

The Presbytery are not willing to sanction any such arrangement between the Town Council on the one hand, and either the present or future ministers of Edinburgh on the other, as shall have the effect of alienating any part of the present ecclesiastical revenue to other than ecclesiastical objects. The question, therefore, of the amount of stipend to the ministers of Edinburgh, should depend wholly upon the number of them, and ought to be decided, not on personal, but on public considerations. On the one hand, the patrons of the city churches will deem it no more than fitting and right that the clergy of the metropolis of Scotland should be so paid, as that, on each event of an ecclesiastical vacancy, they might be able to hold it forth as an object for the acceptance of the most gifted ministers in the country. And, on the other hand, the Presbytery can appeal to the past history of Edinburgh in evidence that the ministers have never resisted the augmentation of their numbers, though it prevented or lessened the augmentation of their stipends, when the Christian good of the population required it; and they are confident that the same spirit will continue to actuate their successors in the ministry. In perfect consistency with these general principles, it is the wish of the Presbytery that the stipends of the ministers of Edinburgh should be fixed in a way analogous to that which is observed in fixing the stipends of clergymen in country parishes. They think it well that there should be a review of the whole ecclesiastical state of the city, and a new settlement both as to the requisite stipends of the ministers, and the requisite addition, if ne

edful,

which should be made to the number of churches and parishes every twenty years. On this principle there ought, in the opinion of the Presbytery, to be a fixed stipend assigned for that period to the Ministers of Edinburgh, leaving a free remainder in the hands of the Magistrates and Council, even as the free teinds in a country parish remain in the hands of its heritors. But the Presbytery hold it indispensable that this remainder should be put into such a state as to render it available for any new adjustment which might be required at the end of each period of twenty years, whether in the livings or the number of the City Clergymen. It will be found that this scheme admits of a full guarantee to the Town Council for their collection of the fund, which thenceforward, it is the opinion of the Presbytery, should be put into their hands.

A reply thus far was deemed by many of the Presbytery to be definite and particular enough, seeing that it brought the question within a narrow and manageable compass for the more precise negotiation which should immediately afterwards take place between the Town Council and the Ministers of Edinburgh,—turning, as it would have done on these two points, first, the amount of the exigible fund on an average of years, and, secondly, the proportion which should be fixed between that part of it which should go to actual stipend, and that part of it which should be left in the shape of free teinds. But on this subject the Presbytery have the satisfaction of informing the Town Council, that the ministers of Edinburgh have by a majority consented to receive £600 of fixed stipend—the minority conceiving that unless a larger sum should be proposed, too great a sacrifice would be made of the claims of the City Ministers. But the unanimous wish of the City Ministers is to have it understood, that this offer of £600 holds only on the event of its being agreed to by the Town Council; and that if not agreed to, it is withdrawn, and the amount of stipend left open to the decision of Parliament. The Presbytery therefore are willing that the stipends of the City Ministers shall be fixed for twenty years at £600, subject to a revisal by the Court of Teinds at the end of that period, on the principles which

have now been pointed out. And the Presbytery make this proposal for a periodical adjustment, because they do not conceive themselves entitled to surrender any part of an ecclesiastical fund already in existence, without security for the eventual application of it to ecclesiastical objects, if found to be necessary.

The Presbytery beg to close their observations on this particular topic, with expressing their conviction that whether regard is had to the amount of their present rights, to the provision made for their brethren in country parishes, or to what is necessary for the respectable maintenance of the clergy, and the most efficient discharge of duty by them in such a place as Edinburgh, the sum now proposed may be considered as reasonable and moderate. After the intimation now given, the Presbytery express their confident hope that this part of the question will be speedily set at rest; and that the subjects still pending between the Town Council and the Presbytery, disembarassed of all that is personal, will be determined solely on the principle of doing what is best for the moral interests of the community, or productive of greatest Christian good to the population of the City.

#### ANSWER.

The Town Council then will be pleased to understand, that the Presbytery are willing that the sum received by the Ministers of Edinburgh, as their fixed stipend, should be restricted to L.600 a-year, for the period, and on the terms, specified in the former part of this reply.

#### QUERIES IV. AND VI.

4. Whether, in the case of Old Grey-Friars' Church, just vacant by the death of Dr. Inglis, the

Presbytery would concur in any arrangement which the Town Council may make with Dr. Anderson, having for its object the retirement of that gentleman from the duties of his office, and the performance of the whole duties of the Church and Parish by the person the Council may appoint as successor to Dr. Inglis ; it being understood by the person so to be appointed, that this church may cease to be a collegiate charge on the death of Dr. Anderson ?

6. Whether or not the Presbytery would concur in uncollegiating *all* of the city churches on the death of the present incumbents ; it being understood, that when that has taken place, the number of City Clergy are to be reduced to the present number of Parishes—that is to thirteen ?

The Presbytery cannot give their consent to any arrangement which shall have the effect, either immediately or in future, of reducing the number of clergymen. On this subject, which they hold to be far the most vital and important that has now been submitted to them by the Magistrates and Council, they must be suffered to enter into some detail,—confident as they are that their honourable body will, on a full consideration of their proposal in all its bearings, be convinced, that the best and highest interests of this great community would sustain essential and irremediable injury by a reduction in the number of established clergymen.

On this subject, the Presbytery would, in the first place, appeal to those days in the past history of Edinburgh, when, as in 1668, there were twelve ministers, with a population, it is understood, of less than 20,000, or in 1722, when there were sixteen ministers, with a population of about 25,200.—The numbers at present are eighteen ministers to a population of upwards of



55,000; and the Presbytery never can consent to aggravate still farther the disproportion between the former and present ecclesiastical provision for the city, by a reduction in the number of city ministers. They are the more strenuous in this resistance, that the evil has been fearfully increased by an inundation of hearers in the city churches from the suburbs and surrounding neighbourhood of Edinburgh, in virtue of which it will be found that many thousands within the city itself, now wandering like sheep without a shepherd, have been denuded of that rightful property which they once had in the Sabbath ministrations and week-day services of their respective clergymen. The Presbytery never will consent to a reduction in their number, so long as the peculiar service of reclaiming these outcasts remains unaccomplished—a service of the utmost importance to the moral and Christian interests of the community, and which, under the present system of seat-letting, and of general congregations, is utterly impracticable.

The work of reclaiming to habits of church-going the countless multitude of our city population, who at present go nowhere, can only be done by bringing the labours of an Established Clergy into extensive contact, both ministerially and pastorally, with the humblest, and so with the general mass of the city families.

In calling the attention of the Town Council to the actual state of our plebeian families, it is not for the purpose of affixing blame, but of demonstrating the only effectual remedy, that the Presbytery venture to assign the cause of this fearful destitution amongst the lower classes of society. In the first place, the ministers of the Establishment have mainly to do, on the Sabbath, not with parochial, but with general hearers from all parts of the city and neighbourhood. This presents them with two distinct charges, which, in virtue of their very distinctness, are rendered well nigh incompatible the one with the other.—First, a congregation in which very few of their own parishioners are to be found; secondly, a parish in which very few of their own hearers are to be found. It is without the limits of possibility, it consists not with human strength, that a clergy-

man shall both acquit himself with energy and effect of his pulpit ministrations, and at the same time undertake such a complication of household duties through the week, as to become the personal acquaintance and Christian friend both of all his congregational and all his parochial families. Should he abandon the latter for the former, then the parish is almost entirely exiled, and put forth of the moral surveillance of its own clergyman. Should he abandon the former in favour of the latter, still he labours under a grievous disadvantage, in that the people among whom he expatiates through the week, are not the people to whom he preaches on the Sabbath. It is this disjunction between the ministerial and the pastoral, which has stricken the Establishment with impotency, in all the large towns of the empire; and could the union between them be again restored, as in the earlier days of Presbytery, it is beyond all calculation how much this simple change would contribute to a most useful moral ascendancy on the part of ministers over the general mass of the families in their respective parishes.

The Presbytery cannot but advert to the peculiar difficulties which from these various causes have been accumulated on the ministers of the existent congregations, with whom it is their most anxious feeling that a method could be devised by which they might be permitted to operate with greater effect on the families of their own proper parishes—a thing absolutely impossible, till parishioners and hearers be more identified with each other; or, in other words, till the barrier of separation, which, under the system of high seat-rents and general congregations, stands between them and their own peculiar vineyards, be at length taken down. It must be by a very gradual process, indeed, that they can exchange their general for local or parochial hearers; and meanwhile, with all the attention which they can possibly bestow upon their parishes, it must be obvious, that under the heavy disadvantage of a want of parochial hearers on the one hand, and the distractions to which they are exposed from the wants and expectations of general hearers upon the other, every attempt at the cultivation of their parishes on the territorial

principle is in a great measure neutralized. But though the remedy for this must be very gradual, that is no reason why it should not be entered upon immediately ; and still more when the proposal regards a new minister and a new parish, should commencement be made at the first, on a sound principle, and all the subsequent operations be carried forward with a steady perseverance in it.

But with more special reference to the fourth proposition, the presbytery cannot hesitate for a moment in regard to the application which should be made of these premises. The proposal of the Magistrates and Council goes to this,—that the duties connected with the church and parish of the Old Greyfriars shall henceforth be done by one clergyman instead of two.

Now, on the supposition that the Old Greyfriars shall remain a collegiate charge, we hold it to be as obvious as any truism can well be, that two men can better discharge all the ministerial and pastoral duties of a parish containing 4345 souls, than one only ; and that a great and substantial deduction is made from the amount of Christian good which might otherwise be rendered, by the suppression of one of these labourers. The question at present is, not whether the labours of these two Clergymen might not be rendered still more effective by the dissolution of the collegiate charge, and the assignation of a separate church and parish to each of them, but whether both associated together in the charge of one church and parish could not do more than either of them could do singly. The question so stated does not admit of an argument, for, when put thus, it is made to answer itself in the irresistible light of its own evidence, —whether it respects the quality of the preaching, in the greater likelihood of able and impressive sermons from the pulpit ; or the quantity of parochial work, in the greater number of family visitations, the greater variety and amount of week-day services.

But, on the other supposition, the same conclusion is brought out in a way still more obvious and satisfactory. Instead of upholding the establishment for the Old Greyfriars in its present shape, let it be conceived that the collegiate charge is done away,

and that a separate congregation and parish shall be assigned to each of its two ministers. It would harmonize better with the future operations under this system for the whole city, if three parishes were formed out of the Old and New Greyfriars parishes together, the population of the latter being 4536. Such a division would afford very nearly 3000 souls to each of the three Ministers, and it only remains to be demonstrated, that, under this economy, however active and talented each of these single-charged Clergymen may be, there is a most ample field for the full and constant exertion of his powers.

It is little known what a mighty proportion the aliens in our city from the word and ordinances of the gospel bear to the whole number of the inhabitants. According to surveys taken, not only in other large towns, but in various places both of Edinburgh and its suburbs, a population of 3000, in such a locality as would form the new parish that we have ventured to propose, might comprise at least 1000 examinable persons who attend no place of worship whatever ;—or, in other words, on the principle that the examinable persons amount to one-half of the whole, there might, in every such parish, be a population of no less than 2000, who, in respect either of their own personal habits, or their family relations, may be said to live in a state of practical heathenism.

The two parishes of the Greyfriars, having between them a population of nearly 9000 souls, have been hitherto under the ecclesiastical guardianship of three Clergymen,—two of them united in the collegiate charge of one of these parishes. Our objection is not to the dissolution of the collegiate charge, but to the suppression of one of its Ministers, who, on the division of both the Greyfriars into three parishes, would have the entire and undivided charge of a parish consisting of nearly 3000 souls. Even though this population had consisted throughout of church-going families, the labours of one Minister, fully and strenuously occupied, would be required in upholding the services of Christianity, and perpetuating its habits in the midst of them. But how resistless an argument it becomes, when, to all the ordinary cares and services of a Clergyman, there is superadded

the arduous, and without the apostolic zeal and devotedness of a Christian missionary, the else unconquerable task of reclaiming the many hundreds who now, sunk in hopeless heathenism, own no gospel ministry whatever,—living year after year without a Sabbath, and without either a minister or a sanctuary for its holy services. With so affecting a spectacle before their eyes, the Presbytery of Edinburgh never will consent to the suppression of that ecclesiastical labourer whose business it should be to go forth on the rugged, but not, under the blessing of heaven, the impracticable work, of reclaiming these now exiled wanderers. The Presbytery could not, without an act of the grossest public delinquency, resolve on the virtual abandonment of these families; and, in the name of Him who has said that—"The harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few,"—they beg firmly, yet most respectfully, to assure the Magistrates and Council, that to obtain a consent or an expression of willingness on the part of the Presbytery for the diminution of these labourers, all the attempts, whether of persuasion or power, will be alike unavailing.

After such a lengthened exposition of their views on the fourth proposition, it is unnecessary, in the perfect identity of principle between them, to repeat the considerations on which they decline their consent from the sixth in order. The Ministers of Edinburgh have repeatedly, in time past, with the obvious sacrifice of their own patrimonial interests, urged forward and obtained an addition to their number; and the Presbytery have much pleasure in reporting the assurance which they have received from their city brethren, that on the same principle, transmitted from their forefathers in the ministry, they will now resist every advantage which can possibly be held out to themselves as the consideration or the price on which they might be called to surrender their Christian integrity, by consenting to the proposal of a reduction in their number.

#### ANSWER.

As the result of this protracted argument, the Town Council will be prepared to anticipate the



reply of the Presbytery to their fourth and sixth propositions. The Presbytery will not concur in any arrangement which the Town Council might make with Dr. Anderson, having for its object the suppression of one of the City Ministers; and much less will they concur in uncollegiating all of the City Churches on the death of the present incumbents, with the understanding, that when this has taken place, the number of City Clergy are to be reduced to the present number of parishes, that is to thirteen.

#### QUERIES V. AND VIII.

5. Seeing that by a return of the population of the respective Parishes of the City lately laid before the Council, the existing parochial divisions of the City are such as to render the labour of the Clergy most unequal, (see Appendix) whether or not the Presbytery would concur in any new arrangement of Parishes, by which the population would be more equally divided amongst the clergy, whatever that number may be?

8. Seeing that the number of inhabitants of the New Town and Old Town are nearly equal, while there are only *four* churches in the former, and nine in the latter, whether or not they would concur with the Town Council in suppressing *one* Parish in the Old Town, and erecting one in lieu thereof in the eastern division of the New Town?

It is with the utmost satisfaction that the Presbytery beg to tender their grateful acquiescence in the fifth proposition which

the honourable the Committee of the Magistrates and Council have had the goodness to submit to them, and beg to assure this Committee of their perfect readiness to concur in every measure by which the ecclesiastical system of the city might be improved or remodelled for the greatest Christian good of its families—an object not to be attained by abridging the number of labourers, but by giving the utmost efficacy and the best possible direction to their labour. They deem it an important step in this most desirable process, that in respect of population, all the Parishes of the city should, as nearly as possible, be equalized. They however would submit, as a most important principle in this division, that in the poorer parishes there ought to be a smaller population. They should therefore rejoice, if the ecclesiastical revenue could admit of such an arrangement, that in each of the Old Town Parishes, the number of inhabitants did not exceed 2000, and, at all events, it ought certainly not much to exceed this number, even though such a distribution should leave upwards of 4000 souls to each of the New Town Parishes. It will be observed, however, that on the supposition of five new Parishes being added to Edinburgh, there might, in perfect consistency with this principle, be two Parishes added to the New Town; and further, by the new allocation of a Parish for the College Church, we might look for a still greater reduction to the present oppressive magnitude and population of the New Town Parishes.

#### ANSWER.

It is hoped that the Town Council will recognise a perfect identity in their general views between the Presbytery and their honourable body, in regard to their fifth and eighth propositions, subject however to the principle of the vastly preferable claim which the plebeian districts of the city have to be

provided with the requisite supplies of Christian instruction for their families.

#### QUERY VII.

7. Whether or not the Presbytery would concur with the Town Council in uncollegiating *all* or *any* of the city churches on the death of the present incumbents, it being understood that for every church so uncollegiated, a church shall be built and a parish formed for it, or whether they would agree to an intermediate course, by which the stipend of a certain number of the collegiate clergy might be applied in raising a fund for the erection of churches for the ministers formerly of the collegiate charges, which it may be agreed to continue ?

The Presbytery have again [to express their most cordial satisfaction with the former part of the seventh proposition. They are abundantly sensible to the force of those arguments which might be alleged in favour of Collegiate charges, in cases where the ecclesiastical fund bears a greater proportion to the population than it does in the city of Edinburgh. But all the advantages of Collegiate charges they are willing to forego, in consideration of what might well be termed the crying necessity of the town ; and that is the Christian instruction of the great and general mass of our city families. This object never will be fully, never will be nearly, or beyond the extent of a very small fraction accomplished, but by the labours of an Established Clergy being brought far more closely, far more extensively, into contact with the families of the working-classes, than under the present system of seat-letting, and of general congregations,

is at all possible. For every Collegiate charge which falls vacant, let a new church be planted in some most plebeian district of the city,—let a parish be assigned to it, of sufficiently small population,—let the sittings be had at a rate so moderate as not to be felt oppressive even by the lowest of the working-classes in this new parochial community,—let a rigid preference be offered to the parishioners in the first instance,—and withal, let it be the distinct aim and ambition of the clergyman, so to act on the families of his charge by all sorts of kind and Christian attention through the week, that on every principle of human nature, they will be led to re-act by their attendance upon his ministrations on the Sabbath,—let all this be done, and the Presbytery despair not that under a system as effective as it is beautiful, those thousands of Edinburgh, who are now sunk in practical heathenism, will, by the Divine blessing, be reclaimed to the habits and the decencies of a Christian land, and will themselves most amply overpay, in the diminished expenses of your police and your pauperism, all the cost of that ecclesiastical apparatus that we confidently pronounce to be the only one by which our population can possibly be moralized. The Presbytery are most earnestly desirous that this course shall be entered on immediately; and they would beg most respectfully to submit to the honourable Council, that, on the supposition of the new erection being made with the strictest regard to economy, the intermediate course referred to in the latter part of the seventh Proposition is in no way called for,—the moderate rental of itself providing and perpetuating a fabric of moderate cost. On many accounts the Presbytery can by no means consent that this intermediate course should be adopted, and it is fondly hoped that the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh will consent to abandon it.

#### ANSWER.

The Presbytery concur in the proposal of uncollegiating the city churches on the death of the pre-

sent incumbents,—it being understood that for every church so uncollegiated, a church shall be built and a parish formed for it ; but they must decline their consent to that intermediate course which has been submitted to them by the Honourable the Town Council. The Presbytery beg, under this proposition, to state the necessity that, under the process of uncollegiating, the vested rights of the minister in the parish left uncollegiated should be attended to.

#### QUERY IX.

9. Whether, in the event of the Town Council not agreeing with the Presbytery, respecting the reduction of the number of clergy to the present number of parishes, but without having the *means* of erecting other *five* churches, besides the *two* which it is understood the Town are bound to build for those suppressed under the roof of St. Giles', the Presbytery would concur with the Council in so dividing the city, that the parishes in which they continue the collegiate churches may contain double the number of inhabitants it may be thought expedient to attach to the *single* charges ?

#### ANSWER.

The former replies of the Presbytery will be found to meet the 9th proposition which has been submitted to them. They fully agree with the



Town Council in thinking that the parishes of the city should be so divided, that the labours of the clergymen might be as nearly as possible equalized.

QUERY X.

10. In the event of no reduction of the number of clergy being agreed on, would the Presbytery sanction the Council, in making appointments in collegiate charges, to do so upon a distinct understanding that the person appointed should, at any time he may be called on, do the whole duty of that or any other parish, as a single charge?

ANSWER.

The Presbytery have great pleasure in giving their consent to the 10th and last proposition of the Town Council, provided always that the consent be given with the cognizance at the time, and under the express sanction of the Presentee's ecclesiastical superiors.



REPORT  
OF  
A COMMITTEE  
OF  
THE PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH,  
APPOINTED TO CONSIDER  
THE  
“ REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE  
HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE LEITH  
HARBOUR BILL,” &c.



## R E P O R T, &c.

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YOUR Committee, having considered a “ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Leith Harbour, with the Minutes of Evidence,” which was ordered to be printed 4th July 1836, have agreed to the following Statement :

The topics to which your Committee have given their chief attention, are, *first*, The *sources* from which the income of the city clergy is proposed to be raised ;—*secondly*, The *securities* by which its regular payment and its permanency are guaranteed ;—and *thirdly*, Its *amount*. And on each of these points your Committee beg leave to state, in the *first* place, The proposals contained in the Parliamentary Report ; and, in the *second*, The strong objections to which, in the opinion of your Committee, these proposals are liable.

I. Your Committee beg to call the special attention of the Presbytery to the *Sources* from which the stipends of the city clergy are proposed to be raised. It appears from the Report, taken in connection with the evidence on which it is founded, that these are, *1st*, The grant of L.2000, in lieu of the merk per ton ;—*2dly*, The ordinary



revenue of the city ;—and 3dly, A contingent assessment, leviable over the bounds of the new and extended Royalty, in the event of any defalcation occurring in the revenue arising from the former sources.

To the first of these sources of revenue, as it has been agreed to, although at a sacrifice, apparently, of a part of their just claims, by the city clergy, and as it seems to be unobjectionable in itself, as well as adequately secured, your Committee offer no objection ;—but to the second and third, various very formidable objections have occurred to your Committee, which it is their duty to state to the Presbytery.

On a former occasion, the Presbytery objected to the ministers of Edinburgh being thrown upon the ordinary revenues of the city.—*March 1834.*—“ The Town-Council will be pleased to understand, that the Presbytery are not willing that the clergy of the city shall make unconditional renunciation of all right to the annuity tax and merk per ton, collected at the port of Leith, and that they are not willing that they should be paid out of the ordinary revenue of the city.”\*

Whether any, or what change has occurred since that time in the state of these revenues, which should warrant the Presbytery in rescinding their former resolution, your Committee are not prepared to determine, in the present state of their information ; but, at first sight, it would appear that, in the peculiar circumstances in which the corporation has been placed, they are not likely to have the means of providing a full equivalent for the Annuity out of the ordinary revenues of the city, and without a new assessment, after satisfying the demands of their creditors. This consideration, arising

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\* Answers to Queries, p. 8.

out of the embarrassed state of the city's affairs, affords at least a sufficient reason for cautious enquiry, before any arrangement, founded on the proposed basis, shall be agreed to, and warrants the Presbytery to call for a full and explicit account of those revenues, from which the stipends are proposed to be raised. But while your Committee cannot, in the present state of their information, offer a decided opinion as to the sufficiency of these revenues for the adequate commutation of the annuity, and the permanent security of the church in Edinburgh, they have no hesitation in objecting to one, at least,—and that not the least considerable item of these revenues, if it be proposed as a source of income for the clergy. Your Committee allude to the revenue arising from seat-rents in the city churches, amounting at present to the sum of L.7000 a-year. It appears from the evidence, that this part of the revenue is one of the chief sources from which those means, which will enable the corporation to carry their proposed arrangements into effect, are to be derived; and although, in the Report, seat-rents are not specially set apart for the payment of the clergy, yet they are included in the aggregate revenues from which their stipends are to be paid; and it is not unlikely that they may be regarded by many as the funds that are most naturally applicable to this purpose. Unless it can be shewn, indeed, that the ordinary revenues of the city, independently of seat-rents, are sufficient for the commutation of the annuity, your Committee are entitled to argue on the supposition, that it is proposed to draw the stipends of the clergy, in part at least, from that source.

To seat-rents, considered as a source of revenue for the support of the clergy, your Committee are not disposed to object absolutely and universally, as if it were

either unlawful or inexpedient to raise funds in that way for such ecclesiastical purposes. In some cases, the Church has been driven, by sheer necessity, to have recourse to them, owing to the want of an independent endowment; but it appears to your Committee, that there are evils attendant on this system of a very serious nature, and affecting, in an especial manner, the poorer classes of society, which render it in the highest degree desirable, that where endowments are not already enjoyed, they should be immediately procured; and which convince them, that it would be utterly wrong and indefensible, were the clergy, having endowments, to relinquish them for an interest in the seat-rents. Let it be observed,

1. That any proposal to substitute seat-rents in lieu of an independent endowment, is in direct opposition to the principles for which the church is contending. At the present moment, the most strenuous exertions are being made, with the view of raising the ministers of the new churches from a state of dependence on seat-rents, by means of an endowment; and here, in the Metropolis of Scotland, it is proposed, if the supposition on which we proceed be correct, to reverse that process, to strip the endowed clergy of their independent revenues, and to place them in precisely the same state of dependence on the proceeds of the church-sittings, which has been so much deprecated, and which so many exertions have been made to remedy, in the case of the unendowed ministers. The Parliamentary security is just equivalent to the bond which the latter enjoy. Your Committee will be mortified, if they find that the great principles for which the church has been contending, are as yet so ill understood, and her firmness in adhering to them so little known, as that any party should expect such a proposal to be for one instant entertained.

2. Such a proposal is not only at variance with the principles for which the church has of late been called to contend, but it evidently proceeds on the assumption, that seat-rents, such as have been exacted for a long period, are legally exigible ;—an assumption which your Committee cannot but regard as extraordinary, when they remember, that the right to exact them is at the present moment *sub judice* ; an action having been raised on the part of many respectable elders and inhabitants of the city, which is now pending before the Court of Session. Any arrangement which may be made betwixt the corporation and the creditors, although it might have the effect of quashing the suits betwixt these two parties respecting the right of the corporation to *retain*, or the right of the creditors to *attach*, the seat-rents, can have no bearing on the settlement of this other question, which involves the general principle of law, as to the legality of these exactions altogether. And your Committee cannot suppose that, under a free government, a case of this nature will be taken, *brevi manu*, from under the jurisdiction of the judicial tribunals, and settled by an act of the Legislature.

3. ABOVE ALL, any such proposal, if it be passed into a law, will have the effect of legalizing, and perpetuating an evil, which has been loudly and justly complained of in the city ;—the evil of high seat-rents ; which have a necessary tendency to exclude the poor and working classes from their respective parish churches, to give a practical monopoly to the rich in those places of worship which are, or may be supposed to be, best served, and thus to impair the efficiency of the whole parochial system. That these seat-rents will be kept up at as high a rate as possible, might be inferred from our past experience ; but is rendered more certain by the express

recommendations of the Report. For although in the evidence it is stated, that the Town-Council intend to reduce them, owing to the "clamour of the clergy, as well as of the people," yet not only is there no recommendation to that effect in the Report of the Committee, and no restriction of whatever kind imposed on the discretion of the Town-Council, but the propriety of a "severe economy" is urged on those to whom the administration of the municipal affairs of Edinburgh may be entrusted, as "the only means of avoiding an assessment on the inhabitants."

Your Committee are of opinion, that it will be impossible to urge with effect the reduction of the seat-rents for the proper accommodation of the poor and working classes, if any measure founded on the principle of applying seat-rents to the support of the clergy shall be passed into a law. They feel, that in resisting it, they are fighting the battle, not of the clergy, but of the great mass of the people, and asserting on their behalf a right to free, or at least to cheap accommodation, in opposition to those who would leave the poor to compete, in the matter of church accommodation, in the same market with the rich. And even though it were granted that seat-rents cannot be altogether dispensed with, that a certain sum must be raised from that source for defraying the current expenses of repairs, &c. this would only render it all the more necessary, in the opinion of your Committee, that the Town-Council should be placed under definite restrictions, and that another and an independent source of income should be provided for the clergy.

It is true, that while, in the evidence, the sum of L.7000 is mentioned as the present value of the seat-rents, and is included in the estimate which is given of

the income of the city, it is not specially mentioned in the Report ; but an eventual assessment is spoken of as adequate to secure the proposed provision for the clergy, against any risk that might arise from the failure of the ordinary revenues of the city. That the proceeds from church sittings are included in the revenues mentioned in the report, seems to be undeniable ; and this of itself is sufficient to justify the supposition, that, so far as they can be made available for that end, they will be exacted for the support of the clergy ; but this leads us to consider the *third* source of income,—an eventual assessment on the inhabitants.

It is worthy of notice, that although a general power to levy such an assessment is proposed to be conferred on the Town-Council, yet the actual imposition of any such assessment is strongly deprecated, both in the Report and in the evidence on which it is founded. In the Report, a severe economy is urged as *the only means of avoiding* an assessment on the inhabitants ;—and in the evidence, not only is a wish expressed that this should be avoided, but it is stated that, even for the purpose of securing the creditors, an eventual power of assessment was “ *very unpopular* in the city.” Whether it would be more or less popular as a means of securing the rights of the clergy, your Committee are not disposed to enquire ; but they cannot shut their eyes to the fact, that the proposed assessment is liable to precisely the same objections which have heretofore been urged against the annuity ;—objections arising professedly not from its amount, but from certain scruples of conscience, which, of course, would be quite as reasonable and as strong against an assessment of one or two per cent as against the present rate. And your Committee are apprehensive, that there might be as much



odium attached to the new rate as to the old one, and a<sup>s</sup> much difficulty in collecting the smaller as the larger sum. It has been said, indeed, that some who scruple to pay a tax levied for the specific purpose of maintaining the church, would not object to pay a general assessment, even though they knew that a part of it would be so applied; but it appears from the evidence, that in the opinion of some, this would not remove the repugnance that exists; and one intelligent witness\* stated, that "an assessing clause would give little more satisfaction to the community of Edinburgh than the present annuity tax does:—if it were not in express terms an annuity tax, where the precise proceeds are paid over to the clergymen, but a general tax, the inhabitants are sharp-sighted enough to see, that though it professes to be a tax for general purposes, yet it is really, to a certain extent, a tax for paying the ministers' stipends; and the Dissenters would probably just grumble as much under the one arrangement as under the other."

That the Select Committee were impressed with this consideration, appears from the strong language of the Report: "Though they propose that a power of assessment should be held by the city in reserve, and for the purposes which they have specified, yet they do not willingly contemplate the necessity of its exercise; and they are of opinion, that in no case should it extend beyond the district now liable for the annuity tax."

Your Committee are happy to find, that in their Report, the Committee of the House of Commons express a decided opinion, that in "no case should the eventual assessment extend beyond the district now liable for the annuity tax." Your Committee cannot contemplate,

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\* Bailie Donaldson.

without serious alarm, a proposal which seems to have been submitted to the Committee, for extending the assessment in lieu of the annuity beyond the present precincts of the Royalty, while no provision was proposed for increasing the number of the clergy. The effect of any such measure must have been, to add the suburban population to that within the Royalty, and to place both under the charge of the eighteen Ministers. As it appears from the evidence that some such proposal was made, your Committee are of opinion, that the Presbytery should keep a watchful eye on any measures that may be suggested hereafter, affecting the boundaries of the city parishes, so as to see that no part of the extra-burghal population shall be added to the charges within the city.

II. In regard to the *Security* by which the income of the clergy is proposed to be guaranteed, your Committee would not willingly express any doubt as to its sufficiency ; at the same time, it is their duty to state, that by the Report, a preferable security over the whole revenues of the city is given to the creditors, and that the claim of the clergy on these revenues is to rank immediately *after* that of the creditors. It further appears from the evidence, that the necessary current expenses of municipal government must be defrayed out of these revenues, and that, so far, the revenues of the city are not attachable *even by the creditors*. In these circumstances, your Committee cannot regard the guarantee for the future independence of the clergy in any other light than as a *third* security :—the first belonging, at common law, to the civic authorities for municipal purposes ; the second to the creditors ; and the third to the clergy. Your Committee cannot see any reason

why the claims of the clergy should be postponed to those of the creditors; especially when they find, that in the arrangement betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, it is specially provided, that the sum of L.7000, which is to be paid by Leith to Edinburgh, is secured preferably to all claims, either of old or of new debt, on the docks and harbour of Leith. Whether the proposed security be equal to that which the clergy now enjoy, or whether it be advisable to throw the funds of the clergy into the hands of a corporation at present in a state of embarrassment, and liable in future to a similar contingency, are questions which your Committee would humbly suggest for the consideration of the Presbytery; remarking only, that it would be a very serious calamity if, at any future period, the clergy of the city were placed in the same circumstances in which the professors of the University now stand, in consequence of their revenues being mixed up with the general funds of the corporation.

III. The gross *Amount* of annual income, which the Select Committee propose to assign to the ministers of Edinburgh, is L.9000; which, being equally divided among eighteen ministers, gives a stipend of L.500 per annum to each. It will be in the recollection of the Presbytery, that on a former occasion, a negotiation on this subject took place betwixt the Presbytery and the Town-Council; and that in answer to the queries then submitted, the Presbytery resolved, that in the event of any commutation being made, the sum of L.600 a-year should be secured to each of the city ministers. Your Committee do not feel that they are called to enter on the general question, whether the proposed sum be or be not sufficient for the decent maintenance of a minis-

ter,—a question on which it may be expected that there will be as many different opinions as there are different classes in society, and different standards of comparison ; —but that question—at all times a difficult and a delicate one—is foreclosed in this case ; the ministers of Edinburgh having acquired certain rights, which secure for them an adequate income, and which, sanctioned as they are by law, cannot, consistently with common justice, be taken from them without a *full equivalent*. In such a case, the only question that can be entertained relates to the value of the proposed substitute, as compared with the value of that to which the clergy have a present title. That the sum of L 500 a-year to each minister, is not a full equivalent for the rights which the Report proposes to abolish, would seem to be a fair inference from the evidence appended to that Report. It is admitted that the clergy are entitled to the whole revenues of the annuity tax, and merk per ton. The merk per ton, after every deduction, is estimated at L.2000 a-year. The annuity at L.8000 or L.9000 a-year ; or, more particularly, the average of the annuity since 1820, is stated by Sir James G. Craig at about L.8500 a-year, which, added to the L.2000 for the merk per ton, gives L.10,500, or nearly L.600 a-year to each minister. Your Committee are aware, that of late the actual collections have been diminished by temporary causes, and especially by the agitation of the public mind on the question ; but they would express the hope that no liberal-minded man will avail himself of that circumstance, as an argument for a permanent reduction of ministers' stipend.

Your Committee are also aware, that it was stated in the course of the enquiry on this subject, that the proceeds of the annuity are likely to fall even below their present

value, owing to the reduction in the rental of the city, and other causes; but your Committee are not disposed to attach much weight to this expression of individual opinion, in so far as it proceeds from parties whose hostility to the Church is notorious, especially as it appears that, for a series of years, the average stipend has exceeded the proposed amount; and as, moreover, the city clergy have offered in their memorial, to prove that the funds to which they are legally entitled, estimated upon an average of the last five years, would, if collected, afford to each of them a stipend of more than L.600 per annum. It ought to be remembered too, that the Faculty of Advocates have, much to their honour, practically acknowledged the justice of their claim to this extent, by making it a condition of their agreement to the abolition of their present privileges, that this sum should be secured to the clergy. It is possible that your Committee may have over-rated the future productiveness of these sources of income; but they cannot be wrong in affirming the general principle, that the proposed change must be *bona fide* a commutation, and not, to any extent, a confiscation of church property.

Your Committee have the less hesitation in urging the claim of right, inasmuch as the sum to which the clergy are entitled on the principle of a fair commutation, is far from being an extravagant remuneration to men of the highest education, who, without any of the advantages pertaining to their brethren in the country, are called to maintain their position in society, and to discharge the most sacred duties to the poor, in the midst of a wealthy and populous city.

In conclusion, your Committee are of opinion, that, however desirable it may be to arrive at a final settlement of those questions respecting the state of the

church in Edinburgh, which have been so much agitated of late years, it is to be regretted that the commutation of the annuity should have been mixed up with the numerous and complicated questions betwixt the corporation and the creditors, with the settlement of which the annuity has no natural, and certainly no necessary connexion. That the questions now pending betwixt these parties might have been settled without reference to the annuity, is apparent from the fact, that it was not included in the arrangements recommended by Mr Labouchere in his Report. So that, if the opposition of the clergy to those parts of the Select Committee's Report, which affect the rights and the efficiency of the church establishment in Edinburgh, shall unfortunately have the effect of frustrating or retarding the arrangements now in progress betwixt the other bodies concerned, this result, however much it may be deplored, must not be ascribed either to Mr Labouchere or to the clergy. The latter are the less responsible for it, inasmuch as they do not appear to have had an opportunity, as a body, of laying their views before the Select Committee. It is true, that one of their number was examined before the Committee; but this, while it may serve to give an appearance of impartiality to the enquiry, does not by any means weaken the substantial truth of the statement, that the clergy as a body were never consulted; since it is understood, that the respectable witness referred to spoke on his own sole responsibility, and not as representing his colleagues.

As it appears, from the evidence, that if a provision for the clergy be made out of the ordinary revenue of the city, an assessment *at least* for municipal purposes will be indispensable, your Committee are apprehensive that, after all, the odium of the new assessment will ul-



timately fall on the clergy, and that other and still greater evils may arise from such assessment being extended, in consequence of this arrangement, over the suburbs.

If it be deemed expedient, however, as matters now stand, to entertain the proposal for a commutation of the annuity, your Committee would humbly recommend, that no arrangement for this end should be agreed to, unless it be provided,

1. That the amount of the ministers' stipends should be determined according to the average of what they *were entitled* to receive during the last seven years, subject to such fair, and even liberal deduction, for arrears and expense of collection, as may be ascertained to have been justly made from such revenues in *ordinary* times.

2. That the Magistrates and Council shall prove, to the satisfaction of the Presbytery, that they are able, in their present circumstances, without seat-rents, and without a new assessment, to meet this charge, and to afford a security, equally unexceptionable in principle, and equally permanent, as that which the clergy at present enjoy.

3. That the question respecting seat-rents, now pending before the Court of Session, shall not be prejudiced or affected in any way, by any arrangement that may be made betwixt the Council and the Presbytery; and specially, that the latter shall not be held to approve of the present rate of charge, or precluded from using all lawful means for reducing it.

4. That there be an express renewal, or rather recognition, on the part of the Town-Council, of their obligation to build the additional churches which were provided for in former Acts of Parliament;—this being rendered necessary by Mr Treasurer Black's evidence, Q. 124, 133.

5. That the inhabitants of Edinburgh should be made fully aware of the nature of the proposed change, and sufficient time afforded them for the deliberate consideration of it.

Your Committee have given their judgment on the case submitted to them, and have refrained from expressing any opinion respecting the annuity itself. But they cannot close their Report, without reminding the Presbytery, that the annuity, within certain limits, was bestowed on the church by the burgesses and inhabitants of Edinburgh, who voluntarily subjected their properties to this burden, with the view of upholding and perpetuating a Gospel Ministry in this city. And that, thereafter, it was extended by means of certain clauses, inserted in the feu-contracts by which the present possessors hold their property. Your Committee cannot suppose that the members of the Select Committee were aware of this, when they proposed summarily, "that the annuity tax should be abolished;" as this is nothing more nor less than to strike out, by act of Parliament, certain clauses in the feu-contracts by which private property is held. It is farther worthy of the consideration of the Presbytery, whether the old tenure, by which the annuity is held, by the free and public donation of the inhabitants, and the voluntary engagement of feuars, should be relinquished for a new tenure by act of Parliament, unless such act shall be based on a similar consent of parties. Your Committee are of opinion, that a plan for the redemption of the annuity would be preferable:—But they feel they are not called upon, by the terms of the remit made to them, to enter farther on this subject.

JAMES BUCHANAN, *Convener.*



# APPENDIX.

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## EDINBURGH CITY ELDERSHIP.

AT Edinburgh, within the Hopetoun Rooms, the 26th day of November 1836, at a Meeting of Committee, present:—

1. High Church.....Alexander E. Monteith, Esq.
2. Old Church .....John De Maria, Esq.
3. Tolbooth Church ....George Ross, Esq.
4. Trinity College .....Rev. John Johnston.
5. New North.....William Henderson, Esq.
6. Tron Church.....Adam Anderson, Esq.
7. Old Greyfriars .....James O. Mack, Esq.
8. Lady Yester's .....James Stark, Esq.
9. New Greyfriars.....George Brown, Esq.
10. St Andrew's .....Walter Cook, Esq.
11. St. George's .....Lord Moncreiff.
12. St Mary's .....Joseph Liddle, Esq.
13. St Stephen's.....William Penny, Esq.

ROBERT BORROWMAN, Tron Church, *Secretary*.

LORD MONCREIFF was chosen *Preses*, and as such authorized to sign these Minutes.

The Minute of last meeting having been read, and the Secretary having stated that he had sent copies thereof to the Clerks of the different Kirk-Sessions, he laid before the Meeting the answers which he had received, from which it appeared, that the opinion expressed by the Committee had been very generally approved of by the Kirk-Sessions.

The Meeting having resumed consideration of the subject of the affairs of the city clergy, unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

That it is the opinion of this meeting, that in any arrangement to be entered into between the city and the ministers of Edinburgh, with a view to the repeal of the statutes under which the annuity-tax and other funds for the provision of the clergy have been so long levied, two principles appear to be reasonable, and indispensable to be observed.

*First*, That a clear and satisfactory security for the payment of whatever fixed stipends shall be thought to be just and sufficient, shall be provided by Act of Parliament.

*Second*, That in determining the amount of the fixed stipends to be provided in place of the annuity-tax and other funds, a full and fair average, not merely of the sums actually collected, but of the sums exigible, and which might reasonably be expected to be recovered, shall be taken.

And the Committee, being of opinion that, until a full and accurate explanation on these two points shall be obtained, it will be impossible for the Elders to give any useful advice on the subject, appoint—

Mr Monteith,	Mr Ross,
Mr Mack,	Mr Cook,
Mr Liddle,	Mr Penny,
Mr Ross, <i>Convener</i> ,	

as a Sub-Committee, to take all proper and reasonable means to obtain such explanations, and to report to another meeting to be called as soon as possible.

And the meeting farther resolve, that this opinion shall be communicated by the Secretary to the clerks of the different Kirk-Sessions.

The unanimous thanks of the meeting were voted to Lord Moncreiff for his conduct in the chair.

JAMES W. MONCREIFF.

# INQUIRY

AS TO THE

PECUNIARY GAIN OR LOSS ARISING TO  
THE TOWN-COUNCIL OF PERTH

FROM ITS CONNEXION WITH

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH;

CONTAINING A TRANSLATION OF

**Queen Anne's Charter,**

*Of Date 20th November 1604,*

WHICH CONVEYED CERTAIN LANDS, PROPERTIES, AND  
REVENUES TO THE TOWN ON ACCOUNT OF  
THE CHURCH.

BY JAMES DEWAR.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY OLIVER & BOYD;

AND SOLD BY

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AND THE BOOKSELLERS OF PERTH.

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1836.



The following pages contain the result of an investigation regarding the pecuniary gain or loss arising to the town-council of Edinburgh in connection with the Established Churches of the City. The inquiry may not be uninteresting to the members of the Established Church in this place, who have been taxed with the heavy burden which the Church is represented as imposing on the community. And it is worth observing that this burden is altogether chimerical, that it cannot be distributed to those who belong to other communities, for they cannot but rejoice to know that the same burden which they have been taught to consider as having been properly imposed on them.

It will be observed that the question, whether duty and propriety, and necessity require a Government support of the various religions, or whether that support ought to be left entirely to the voluntary contributions of individuals or comparatively small societies, does not enter into the present inquiry; but it proceeds upon totally different grounds, namely, that certain funds have been set apart by their law-givers for the support of the Church, and whether or not these have been applied to the ecclesiastical expenditure.

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## INQUIRY, &c.

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THE following pages contain the result of an investigation respecting the pecuniary gain or loss arising to the Town-council of Perth from its connexion with the Established Churches of the City. The inquiry may not be uninteresting to the members of the Established Church in this place, who have been taunted with the heavy burden which the Church is represented as bringing on the community. And if it shall appear that this burden is altogether chimerical, that cannot be disagreeable to those who belong to other communions ; for they cannot but rejoice to know that the grievous burden which they have been taught to consider so galling has been purely imaginary.

It will be observed that the question, Whether duty, and propriety, and necessity, require a Government-support of the true religion? or, Whether that support ought to be left *entirely* to the voluntary contributions of individuals or comparatively small societies? does not enter into the present inquiry ; but it proceeds upon totally different grounds, namely, that certain funds have been set apart by their lawful owners for the support of the Church ; and, Whether or not these have been adequate to the ecclesiastical expenditure in this place hitherto ?

The inquiry was suggested by the discussion which has recently taken place in this city in connexion with a proposed reduction of the stipend of one of its ministers. It was alleged by those who advocated a diminution, that the falling state of the revenue, together with the heavy expenditure in the ecclesiastical department, were sufficient reasons for making a reduction ; and, in order to prove the latter propo-

sition, various statements have been printed and published, which were not only overcharged and inaccurate in themselves, but were founded upon a very partial and imperfect view of the subject, as they proceeded upon the fallacy that the Town derives no pecuniary advantages from its connexion with the Established Church in this place, excepting the money it draws from seat-rents.

The right of the public to accurate, and, as far as possible, full information on matters which are peculiarly their own, may be admitted as a sufficient reason for the present attempt to furnish a more comprehensive view of the subject than the one given in the discussion alluded to.

It is a fact generally known, that certain funds and properties have been consecrated by our ancestors to the purposes of supporting and upholding an establishment of religion in this country. It is equally true, that these funds and property were originally set apart and bequeathed, not by the government of the country, but by individuals of varied rank out of their own private possessions. Rapacious governments, it is true, have, upon several occasions, interfered with and seized upon and alienated this property from the purposes to which it was destined by its original owners, confiding in their *might*, rather than actuated by a sense of *right*; but it will be difficult to point out an instance of these governments applying funds to the propagation of religion which had not previously been the property of the Church.

The wisdom and propriety of this provision will be viewed differently by different parties,—by those who maintain that man only as an individual has any concern with religion, and those, on the other hand, who believe that man as a social being is bound to respect and promote the *true* religion, under all circumstances and in every situation in which he can be placed,—by those who think that the national support of any creed is persecution towards those who believe in another, and those, on the other hand, who hold that a nation which supports no creed has no claim to the name of a religious nation. But certain it is, such property has been set apart for a national support of religion in our country; and no less

certain is it, that the parish of Perth was not overlooked either in this general provision or in the various acts of violence to which the church-property of Scotland has been subjected.

The origin of tithes in this country is of such remote date as to render it now next to impossible to fix upon it with precision ; but the public records of the place make it certain that, as far as respects Perth, they existed in the early part of the twelfth century, and that David the First made over to the Abbey of Dunfermline, not only the tithes of the parish, but the parish church, the manse, and another house in Perth ; and the abbot and monks received the rectory tithes, and employed a vicar to officiate at Perth.\* Whatever may have been the reason for this arrangement, it matters not ; but this is a fact, that the superiority of the Abbacy of Dunfermline over the religious concerns of Perth existed for about four centuries and a half, and terminated only at the time of the Reformation.

It is not a little remarkable, that at the momentous era of the Reformation, when the minds of men were emancipated from the thralldom of human domination, and a way was opened up for the dissemination of religious truth unknown to the world for many centuries before, the greater part of the means which had been devoted to the support and propagation of religion were at the same time seized upon by the secular power, and abstracted from their proper and legitimate uses. But it is not the amount of the plunder, but the value of what was left for the support of religion at this period, that will point out whether, after all, the Established Church has been a burden or the reverse to the country generally, but more especially to the royal burghs. No doubt the king and the court made a rich harvest of it ; for a necessary part of this religious revolution respected the tithes and other property which had belonged to the religious orders under the Papal sway, and by far the greater part of this property was seized by the Crown and lavished upon favourites and court parasites, by which the extension and

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\* Scott's Statistical Account of Perth, p. 48.

support of the infant reformed Church was made to suffer; by which the poor, who were well provided for in the time of Popery, were made to suffer; and by which the cause of education over the country was cramped, and limited, and inadequately provided for, and made to suffer, although for these objects, and for these objects alone, the property had been primarily granted. Thus the government, which ought to have been the guardian (as it was nothing more than the trustee), became the spoliator of the ecclesiastical property. Nor did the nation benefit in any degree by this violent transference of church-property from the bishops, abbots, priors, &c., to the dukes, and marquises, and earls of those days, for there was no public burden lightened, and no taxation removed from the shoulders of the people by the transaction.

From a very early period, various notices of church-lands being conveyed to the Town on account of the support it gave to the National Church, occurs in the city-registers of Perth; but the fate of Perth at this particular period of spoliation, and whether the administrators of its affairs have exceeded the provision then made for it, are more immediately the objects of inquiry. The church-lands, and revenues, and property, belonging to the Abbey of Dunfermline, including those of Perth, were in 1589 conferred by James VI. as a dowry upon his queen, Anne of Denmark. When this gift was submitted to Parliament in 1593, it was confirmed, with this provision, that the queen should allow one-third of the benefices for the support of the officiating clergy. "Her tacksman of the tithes was John Ross, laird of Craigie. He paid a third part for the purposes enacted, and transmitted the overplus to the queen's majesty. The queen, however, soon after the year 1600, gave up her rights to the tithes of Perth, and the Town-council became patrons of the parish."\* This renunciation by the queen was made by Royal Charter, of date the 20th November 1604, when the Town-council became patrons of the parish, proprietors of the churches, church-lands, and other properties and revenues,

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\* Scott's Statistical Account of Perth, p. 49.



had the teinds of the parish conveyed to them, and, along with these sources of revenue, became bound to uphold the churches, and make adequate provision for their office-bearers. This charter was ratified in Parliament 1606, and the Town obtained a charter of confirmation in 1616, and were infeft thereon in 1624. It is of importance to notice, that previously to this grant, the Town of Perth, like other proprietors, paid their quota for the support of the clergy. This appears from the following extracts from the Town-council Records:—"1601, July 6, Certain funds to be given to Mr William Coupar for his stipend, and 360 merks to Mr John Malcome," (these were the two ministers of Perth at this period).—"July 13th, Acknowledgement by Mr William Coupar of having received 360 merks *as part* of his stipend."—"November 17th, 500 merks to Mr John Malcome in full of his stipend, augmentation, coals, and house-mail."—"December 1st, Allowance of victual to Mr William Coupar *in part* of his stipend."—"1602, November 19th, Order to pay Mr William Coupar ten pounds, which, with 360 pounds therein mentioned, is in full of the stipend due him." These payments, it will be observed, were made by the Town previously to the grant by Queen Anne, and while John Ross was her tacksman, and transmitted two-thirds of the tithes of the parish to her majesty.

The rights conferred, the property conveyed, and the obligations laid upon the Town of Perth by the queen's charter, will be best understood from the charter itself, a translation of which follows. The original charter, written in Latin, and having both the royal seals affixed, is in the Town's Chartulary.

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### **Charter by Queen Anne, with consent of King James, in favour of the Town of Perth.**

"Anne, by the grace of God Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and Lady of the Abbacy and Lordship of Dunfermline, and of the churches and benefices of the



same, in the kingdom of Scotland, and undoubted Patroness of the Parish Church of Perth, both of the rectorage and vicarage of the same, lying in the kingdom of Scotland, and from ancient time pertaining to the said abbacy as part of the patrimony of the same, To all whom it concerns, greeting: Seeing it has been provided by the Word of God and the Divine Oracles, and is agreeable to religion and to reason, and is pious and expedient for the commonwealth, that the Ministers of the Holy Gospel should be supported and maintained with the teinds of their own Churches and Parishes in which they give themselves to Divine things, to the preaching of the Word of God, and to the Ministry, and that the same teinds should be applied to their own (proper) uses, and that the rectorages and vicarages of the said churches, as often as they shall happen to become vacant, should be provided to them (*i. e.* to the Ministers), for the same purposes; and seeing that to the citizens of the very celebrated Town and City and Royal Burgh of St John, called Perth, in the said kingdom, and to the parishioners of said Parish Church of the same, no ecclesiastical funds or property remain for the support, maintenance, clothing, and pay of the Ministers of the Holy Gospel who serve in Divine things, in the preaching of the Divine Word, and in the ministry, in the same city, church, and parish, except the teinds of the said parish, the rectorage and vicarage of the said church, and of the said rectorage and vicarage the fruits, emoluments, conveniences, and profits, We have resolved, with consent and authority of the most excellent and high Prince, James, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and our dearest husband, and with the advice of our trusty and well-beloved counsellors, Alexander Lord Fyvie, President of the College of Justice in the said kingdom of Scotland, James Lord Balmerinoch, Secretary, Walter Commendator of Blantyre, Sir Thomas Hamiltoun of Monkland, Advocate, and Mr Peter Young of Beatown, eléemosynar to the foresaid most illustrious Prince, in his said kingdom, to provide that the said city Perth, or the said Parish Church of Perth, or the Ministers of the Holy Gospel in the same, do sustain no damage, but that the teinds of the said Parish Church of Perth, the rectorage and vicarage of the same church, and the fruits, emoluments, conveniences, and profits of the said rectorage and vicarage, be applied to the use of the said Ministers, and to their support, maintenance, clothing, and payment; Know ye, therefore, that we, for the reasons aforesaid, moved by the Divine instruction of the Holy Spirit and by conscience,

and in consideration of the very many distinguished and remarkable services rendered to and bestowed upon us and the aforesaid most illustrious Prince our husband by the citizens of the said city, with the express advice, authority, and consent foresaid, have given, granted, and by this our present Charter have confirmed, as well as by the tenor of these presents, with consent, authority, and advice foresaid, do give, grant, and by this our present Charter do confirm, to the Provost, Bailies, and Councils of the said city for themselves, and in name of the citizens and community of the said city heritably, all and the whole of the mansion of the rectory and rector of the said Parish Church of Perth, the tenement, namely, including buildings, and lands, and old and waste (or unoccupied) houses, front and back, under and above, the close (or enclosure) and gardens of the same, with pertinents, commonly called the Great College, lying in the said burgh of Perth, on the western side of the church-yard of the same, between the garden on the west, the garden-boundaries now of Thomas Wilson and his heirs, once of Alexander Anderson, on the south side, the tenement of land, front and back, with garden and pertinents, commonly called the Little College, on the north side, and the said church-yard on the east side, together with the advocation, donation, and right of patronage of the said Parish Church of Perth, as well of the rectorage as of the vicarage of the same; having and holding the said whole and entire mansion of the said rectory and rector of said Parish Church of Perth, to wit, the said tenement, buildings, and lands, and old or waste houses, back and front, under and above, and the said close (or enclosure), and the gardens of the same with pertinents, commonly called the Great College, lying and bounded as above, together with said advocation, donation, and right of patronage of said Parish Church of Perth, of the rectorage as well as vicarage of the same, by the foresaid Provost, Bailies, and Council of said burgh of Perth, and by their successors, Provost, Bailies, and Councils of said burgh for themselves, and in name of the citizens and community of said burgh, of us, our heirs and successors, from the said most illustrious Prince James, by the grace of God King of Britain, France, and Ireland, and of his successors, Lords of the said Abbacy and Lordship of Dunfermline, in fee and heritage for ever, with free entry and egress, and with each and all their liberties, conveniences, profits, easements and just pertinents whatsoever, as well not named as named, as well under ground as above ground, far and near, pertaining, or that *can* justly pertain

in any possible way, to the foresaid mansion, and to the said advocation, donation, and right of patronage, and other premises with their pertinents,—for the future, freely, quietly, plenarily, entirely, honourably, well, and peacefully, without any hinderance, reservation, revocation, contradiction, or obstacle of any kind. Paying therefrom yearly the foresaid Provosts, Bailies, and Councils of said burgh of Perth, and their said successors, to us, and our successors, Lords of the said Abbacy and of the Lordship of Dunfermline, the sum of forty-six shillings of the money of the kingdom of Scotland, if only it be asked, at the two usual terms of the year, to wit, Whitsunday and Martinmas, by equal portions only, in stead of every other burden, exaction, question, service, or demand, which by any persons whatsoever can justly be made or required, in any possible manner, of the foresaid mansion, and the said advocation, donation, and right of patronage, and the other premises with the pertinents: Moreover, to charge to infest accordingly Lawrence Mercer of Clevage, Sir Andrew Murray of Arngask, or any one of *you*, conjunctly and severally, our Bailies in this part specially constituted, we send greeting: And with the consent, authority, and advice aforesaid, we command and strictly charge that, straightway on sight of these presents, ye do immediately without any delay rightly cause to be possessed, commit and deliver up the state, heritable sasine, as well as the possession corporal, actual and real, of the whole and entire of the said mansion of said rectory and rector of the said Parish Church of said parish, to wit, of the said tenement of buildings, lands, and old or waste houses, front and back, above and below, and of the foresaid enclosure, and of the gardens of the same with pertinents, commonly called the Great College, lying and bounded as above, together with the said advocation, donation, and right of patronage of said Parish Church of Perth, as well of the rectorage as vicarage of the same, to the foresaid Provost, Bailies, and Council of said burgh of Perth, for themselves and in name of the citizens and community of the said burgh of Perth, or to their certain attornies or procurators, attorney or procurator, bearers or bearer of these presents, at the public cross of the said Burgh of Perth; and that this ye do in no way omit to do. In order to the doing of which, we commit to you, and to any one of you, jointly and severally, our Bailies in this part as aforesaid, our plenary and irrevocable power by the tenor of these presents, with the consent, authority, and advice aforesaid. In testimony of which, to this present Charter of ours, and to the precept of sasine written by Mr William Coupar, Minister of said Church of Perth, and subscribed by

us, and by the most illustrious Prince, &c., and by our said Counsellors, in testimony of their consent and advice, are appended our seal, and that of the said illustrious Prince our husband. Given at Whitehall, the twentieth day of November, one thousand six hundred and four years," &c.

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The grant bestowed on the City by this Charter consists of three branches ; *First*, Certain property in lands, gardens, and houses, with the emoluments, conveniences, and profits of the same ; *Second*, Certain immunities respecting the obligations of the Town to pay tithe on their possessions like all other proprietors ; and, *Third*, The right of patronage of the Parish Churches of Perth.

It may be as well to consider these branches in their order. And as to the property directly conferred, it is now next to impossible to ascertain either its precise extent or value. But to any one at all acquainted with the localities of Perth it must be apparent that its extent was very considerable, and that its locality was in the very centre of the town. It consisted of a mansion, tenements, buildings, and lands, with gardens and pertinents, commonly called the Great College-yard, on the western side of the church. On this latter spot the public markets are now erected, and although these are not so productive to the revenue of the town as they have been in times past, on account of the traffic which used to be confined to them being now spread over the whole town and suburbs, they are still valuable, and the ground which they occupy might be feued at a very high rate. A large portion of the adjacent grounds has now fallen into other hands, and whether the Town-council may have from time to time parted with it easily or carelessly, or conferred it upon some of its own office-bearers upon *very friendly terms*, does not affect the fact, that very extensive and very valuable property was by this deed of Queen Anne conferred upon the community of Perth. To give its value in the ordinary tangible form of pounds, shillings, and pence, is not at present attempted.

But considerable as the amount of this property must un-



doubtedly have been, that is vastly inferior to the gain the Town derived from its *immunities*. The amount of these privileges shall be glanced at by and by ; but the fact that the Town was exempted from tithes is incontrovertible ; and no one who is made aware that the Town-council were constituted *titulars* of the teinds of the parish will attempt to controvert it, because it is matter of notoriety that the teinds of the titulars were never valued nor uplifted until at least all the other teind of the parish was exhausted. This arrangement was nothing short of fortune-making to many of the titulars ; for when a right to the whole teinds of the parish was conferred upon them, including their own, the only burden which accompanied that right was to make an adequate provision for the clergyman of the parish. In most cases the provision which was considered adequate for the clergyman was a mere fraction of the amount of the whole teinds, and even in cases where they were less valuable, as in Perth, there was no risk to the titular, for so soon as he found that the amount of saving to him by possessing his own teinds was less than the stipend he gave to eke out the teind of the other heritors, he had only to cause a valuation to be put on his teind, and add that to those of the other heritors, and then he became immediately relieved from *stipend*. Has the Town-council of Perth made this experiment as yet ? Nay verily !

But to give authority to this representation of the position of the City of Perth with regard to teinds and stipends, a sentence or two more may be necessary. The Town became titulars of the teinds of the Parish Church of Perth, under the burden of the future support of the clergy.\* “ The best evidence that burghs had teinds in their lands for the support of the Church and her ministers, is their being called by the proclamation to attend Parliament, along with the nobles and titulars, to surrender their teinds. This is proof positive, unless it be supposed that they were called on to surrender what they had not.”† That the Town of

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\* Connell on Tithes, vol. iii. p. 137.

† Fleming on Teinds, p. 58.

Perth enjoyed the exemption is demonstrated from the deed of valuation of teinds in the parish of Perth 1634, when the teind of every heritor in the parish was valued, *with the exception of the Town-council*; but there is no valuation put upon a single particle of the Town's property.\* And in the Act of 1693 there is a clause expressly exempting the property of titulars.† The effect of this was, that instead of paying teind on their property like the other heritors, they reserved it in their own hands, and in lieu of it paid certain sums in name of stipend to the clergy. So that, in order to ascertain how far this arrangement was profitable or unprofitable for the Town, the amount of stipend they have been paying has only to be compared with the amount of teind they would have had to pay had they not been made titulars.

But before adverting to the advantages or disadvantages accruing to the Town of Perth, in consequence of the Council being appointed titulars, it may not be amiss to glance slightly at the working of this system, in a general point of view, shortly after it was adopted. And whatever may have been the object in appointing these husbandmen of the fruits of the ecclesiastical property, it could not have been the advantage and prosperity either of the Church or the clergy, for it never benefited, but very much injured, the interests of both. During the early part of the seventeenth century much annoyance, inconvenience, and loss, were experienced on account of the overbearing conduct of the titulars and tacksmen of the teinds. By the then existing law, the landed proprietors and tenants were not at liberty to remove the crops off the fields, however ready for and however necessary such removal, until the titulars or tacksmen had, in the first place, carried away their tenth of the produce. This they often failed to do until the crop was much damaged, and, in many instances, completely destroyed, by unseasonable exposure to the inclemency of the weather, after it was fully ready for removal. The titulars and tacksmen

\* Deed of Valuation. Town-council Records.

† Connell on Tithes, vol. ii. p. 235.



pressed severely also on the clergy, paying them as they thought proper; so that the ministers were not only poor, but in a state of abject dependence upon these *lords of the new creation*, as they were called. And to such an extent had these grievances been experienced, that Charles the First resolved in 1627 to execute a general revocation of all the grants bestowed by his father on the lords of erection and titulars, as the only means for putting an end to such crying evils.\* This proposal, however, was met by the most determined resistance on the part of the lords of erection and the titulars, who still possessed the feudal power,—crippled it is true, but still sufficiently important to make it dangerous; and his majesty's scheme for correcting the evils complained of, and placing this branch of public affairs upon a more solid if not a more equitable footing, had well nigh raised a rebellion in the country. The titled possessors of the property of the Church, being men of high rank and great influence, managed to arouse the wrath of their vassals in aid of their own, in opposition to the proposal of the king. So formidable did this opposition become, that his majesty was compelled to abandon the proposed revocation; but the threatening of it led to the following adjustment with all the parties who held or had an interest in the teinds. These parties were divided into four classes, and appropriate submissions made to each. “*First*, To the lords of erection and landholders; *Second*, To the bishops and clergy; *Third*, To the royal boroughs; and, *Fourth*, To certain tacksmen and others having a right to the teinds. These four classes having surrendered their tithes and church-lands to the king, his majesty, after due consideration, did, on the 2d of September 1629, pronounce four decreets-arbitral, corresponding to the number of submissions. This was done in order to ascertain the composition that should be paid to the crown by the holders of church-property in return for having their *titles* secured; to arrange upon what terms certain rights should be resumed by the crown; to disjoin and unite

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\* Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 330-332.—Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. pp. 8, 23, 24.

parishes as might be necessary; to provide sufficient stipends out of the tithes to ministers; to determine in what manner and on what conditions the *proprietors* of the ground were entitled to purchase their tithes; and, finally, to ascertain the extent of the king's claim upon the tithes. These objects being all fully attained, the decreets-arbitral, which were pronounced in 1629, were ratified and confirmed by act of Parliament in 1633. Thus, all parties who had an interest in the tithes got their grievances redressed, especially the clergy and landowners, who had good reason aforetime to complain of the rigorous exactions of the lords of erection and titulars of the teinds. All parties went freely into the surrender. *The fifth of the rental in lieu of the tenth of the produce* was most cordially gone into by all the landowners. It was making them a present of just one-half of the tithe, for the fifth of the rental is only equal to the half of the tithe." \*

To ascertain with precision the amount of pecuniary advantage derived by the Town from the immunity it has enjoyed as titular during the whole period since that right was conferred upon it, would now be next to impossible. But, were the Town at the present day to renounce its immunities as titular, and the seat-rents of the churches, and get rid of its present obligation to pay stipend, the transaction would be of manifest disadvantage to the revenue. For it must be borne in mind, that, from the position in which the Council has hitherto stood as already described, NO VALUATION HAS EVER BEEN PUT ON THE BURGH PROPERTY, and the teind from it now would amount to upwards of L.400. This then forms an indirect revenue to the Town on account of its connexion with the Established Church.

The next source of church-revenue, that of charging money for the sittings in the churches, although not of such ancient origin, is more direct and tangible. Whether our predecessors, the Roman Catholics, had recourse to such an expedient for raising money, is not very apparent; the pro-

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\* Fleming on Tithes, pp. 41, 42.

bability is rather that they had not. But during nearly the whole of the seventeenth century, the only transactions of the Town-council with regard to seats in the churches consisted in making arrangements with contending parties as to the seats they should occupy, and were of little interest, indicating no principle upon which they acted. On 23d January 1693, however, they passed a regular act as to seat-letting, in which the purposes to which the proceeds were to be applied are distinctly specified. At this date the following minute occurs in the Council Records: "The Counsell, by pluralitie of votes, for the better ease and accomodatione of the Burgeis and other inhabitants wives, they have agried and condeschendat that the bodie of the church, where the choir is, be all pewed, and the second minister's steipand for crop 1692, vaccand in their hands, and att their disposal as patrones be act of Parliament and act of their Majesties' Privie-counsell, be maide use of for that present use, suafare as the same may extend to in defraying the chairges of building of the said pews, and aftir the same is built, to be rented and sett out be the Magistrats and Counsell for the tyme, *and the yeirlie rent thereof to be applied for the mentinence of such poor within the said brough as the saids Magistrats and Counsell for the tyme shall judge most charitable to be bestowed,*" &c. This may be fairly taken as the origin of lucrative seat-letting in Perth, and the destination of the proceeds was highly creditable to the authorities of those days, if the principle of exacting money as a price for the privilege of hearing the Gospel preached can be admitted under any circumstances. At all events, the resolution that the revenue arising from seat-rents should be devoted to the maintenance of the poor was strictly adhered to; for, on the 5th of August 1695, "The Thesaurer reported that he had received ane hundreth threttie six pundis Scots as the few maill of the new pews in the bodie of the church, and the Counsell appoynts him to give the same to William Austine, the Gild boxmaster, and William Chapman, Convener, to be equally divided and *distribut be them betwixt the poor of the Gildrie and Traids.*"

On 13th May 1700, a similar order is given, and in 1720, when the present West Church was seated, and certain divisions of it allocated to the Guildry and the different trades to be seated at their own expenses, there is the special provision, "That the Guildry and Trades give up all claim to any part of the pew-money of the Old Church, formerly allowed them *for distribution amongst their poor.*"

The best defence that can be made of the still existing practice of the Guildry and Trades drawing money from seat-rents, while they pay no part of the ministers' stipends, and bear no part of the expense of upholding the fabrics, is, that the proceeds are still applied by them to the maintenance of their poor; and, in this view, they may be considered as the almoners of nearly L.300 of the Town's annual revenue, which is applied to the support of the poor of all denominations. This was the original arrangement in 1693, with only this difference, that at that period the Town-treasurer drew the money and handed it over to the boxmaster of the Guildry and convener of the Trades, whereas the Guildry and Trades now draw their portion by their own officers.

But the revenue from seat-rents has very much increased since the period when they were first exacted, and so also has the Town's expenditure on account of the Established Churches. In 1807, the Council augmented their outlay in this department by undertaking to pay an additional minister, as well as by putting those they had on a better footing; but they at the same time also increased their revenue by the additional seats of St Paul's Church, as well as by nearly doubling the rates of rent formerly paid. But whether this matter of seat-letting be or be not on the best possible footing at the present day, this at least is clear, that certain sums are paid by the members of the Established Churches as rent for their seats, and these sums go either to the public purse, or are paid away in stipends, or else are distributed amongst the poor; but, in whichever of these ways they are applied, the Church ought to get credit for them in any fairly-balanced ecclesiastical account with the City.

It may be proper now to bring together the different sources of emolument and revenue which the Town-council has enjoyed and enjoys on account of the Established Church ; and by placing the ecclesiastical expenditure opposite to them, the pecuniary gain or loss will be apparent.

Amount of Teind saved by the Town on account of the appointment of the Council as

Titulars, say	L.400	0	0
Seat-rents drawn by the Chamberlain for 1835, being the lowest sum for many years,	650	14	11
Seat-rents drawn by the Guildry and Incorporations, about	300	0	0
	<hr/> L.1350 14 11		

*Ecclesiastical Expenditure for 1835.*

Ministers' stipends,	L.820	0	0
Salaries of officers, repairs, &c.	157	4	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Add interest on outlay for St Paul's,	80	0	0
	<hr/> 1057 4 6 $\frac{1}{4}$		
Gain,	L.293	10	4 $\frac{3}{4}$

From these *data*, then, it appears that the Town of Perth is at the present moment a *pecuniary gainer* to the extent of at least L.300 per annum by its connexion with the Established Church. And it will be borne in mind that this statement does not represent any thing like the full amount of that gain ; for by it the value of the property and churchlands conveyed by Queen Anne's Charter is not taken into account, although that must amount to a very considerable sum. Neither has any value been proposed for the right of patronage conveyed by the same Charter to the Town-council ; because, although lay-patronage has oftentimes been converted into a marketable commodity, and bought and sold for very large sums of money, it is notwithstanding considered by many only another branch of that unjust appropriation of the Church possessions and rights which was made by the Government at the time of the Reformation.



The State did not at this time content itself with the seizure and allocation of the Church property to its own creatures, but it also bartered the rights of the people for the favour of the barons, when it deprived the Christian community of the privilege of choosing their own ministers, and conferred that right upon others who in many instances had no community of feeling or interests with them. Nor is there any account taken of the sum of L.660 collected at the church-doors annually for behoof of the poor. But all these particulars serve to establish the assertion that the Town is a gainer, even in a pecuniary point of view, to a very large extent by its connexion with the Established Church.

This position will be in no degree weakened by a comparison of the finance of the City at the time this connexion was formed, with that of the present day. Queen Anne's Charter was confirmed in 1616, and the Town received infeftment thereon in 1624; but the following extract from Sir James Balfour's "*Annales of Scotland*" (vol. ii. p. 49), will give some idea as to the financial difficulties of the City in 1614, two years before the confirmation, and ten before the infeftment. "The Toun of Perth having woodsett ther comon good for fortie thousand merks, and having no meins to relieve the same bot by selling a 19 ziere take of some pairte of ther comon good to certaine of ther auen tounsmen, the Lordes of his Maiestie's Priuey Counsaill, upon the said Toun's humble suplicatione to them, did inter-pone ther authority, and give ther consent to the said take." And now it has seventy-six thousand pounds worth of property after its debts are deducted, and an annual income of six thousand pounds,—a pretty clear proof, that if the Church has been a heavy burden to it, it appears to have grown and increased amazingly under the load.

In the preceding inquiry, a determination to understatement rather than overstate the remunerating advantages to the Town-council which it derives from its connexion with the Established Church, has been acted upon. It will be no difficult task to any one, who has a little leisure and inclination, to make a much greater gain appear to the Town from



this connexion. But perhaps enough has been stated to satisfy every Churchman, but especially those who are unable to pay any thing for the support of religion in the place, that this provision has been already made for them by their ancestors, and that they are not indebted to the extent of a single farthing to *any one living*, either Churchman or Dissenter, for the privilege of hearing the Gospel preached. Enough may have been stated also to satisfy those who do not belong to the Church that they really are not in truth contributing a fraction towards its support ; and that, as it costs them nothing, they ought not to rail against it, or to complain of it as a burden.

Had Perth been differently situated, and had no adequate provision been made for the support of religion in the place, other grounds might have been taken ; and it might have been maintained that the public funds could not be applied to a better purpose than the establishment and support of the true religion, until at least this paramount object was sufficiently provided for by individual or private benevolence. As soon as this epoch shall arrive, when the streams of private liberality shall be sufficient to carry the religion of truth into every recess, and over the whole community, then, and not till then, may public aid be disregarded or withheld, and the funds which have been bequeathed centuries ago for this object be applied to other than their legitimate uses.

In the mean time, Churchmen, those in Perth at least, have reason to be glad that their religion does not cost the community a fraction, but has been highly beneficial to it, both in a pecuniary and in a far more important point of view. And Dissenters in Perth have reason to rejoice that the burden of supporting the Established Church, which they have been taught to consider so galling, has never pressed upon either their purses or their persons, or any thing else connected with them, excepting their imaginations.

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